

# Dump Gov't Trusteeship! Imperils Labor -- Millard

By Rosa Dowson

The government trusteeship imposed over the Great Lakes unions, back in September 1963 "has created a permanent trusteeship bureaucracy which could rapidly become a competitive center of authority to a voluntary and independent union movement," warns former Steelworkers leader Charles H. Millard, the sole unionist on the original three-man trusteeship.

On January 29, following a leak to the press, Millard released the full text of the memorandum that he had addressed back on December 18th to the executive of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). In it Millard declares: "I cannot emphasize too strongly my urgent recommendation that the CLC act very quickly on the possibility of reviving the union trusteeship idea with the AFL-CIO and replacing the government trusteeship with a union structure

without delay."

Millard's warning is all the more significant and authoritative, backed as it is by inside experience. Up until now the Workers Vanguard has been the only press to condemn the trusteeship. A slashing attack in the October 1963 Vanguard carried a streamer headline "LABOR CAN'T LIVE WITH GOVERNMENT TRUSTEESHIP." We pointed out that "such arrogant interference by the government in the internal affairs of the union movement is without precedent on this continent. Its only precedent is in the corporative states such as Hitler and Mussolini imposed on the backs of the German and Italian peoples."

We warned: "far from curing the Hal Banks disease . . . the trusteeship threatens the independence of the entire trade union movement and the most elementary democratic rights of every one of its one and a half million members . . . it can only serve to open the door for further government restrictions." We declared that "the fight against gangsterism and nepotism in the union movement is the problem of the labor movement alone and can only be won by a rank and file fight for democracy and a new militant leadership."

It was the CLC top brass who pressed an uneasy but not at all unwilling government into saddling the Great Lakes unions with a government trusteeship. Millard, who now condemns the government trusteeship all down the line, speaks not as a former opponent, and a longstanding defender of trade union independence from state interference. He speaks as one who supported the government trusteeship, who even took the job of trustee on CLC nomination, and who now has had a practical experience from the inside of what such a trusteeship

leads to.

Millard backs up the urgency of his appeal to the CLC with the statement that "It stems from the fact that a new critical situation is developing which in the long run is more dangerous to the free union movement than the events which produced the first crisis."

"Any government - appointed authority," he points out, "has a tendency to perpetuate itself and to grow. In the case of the maritime trusteeship, that process is now well advanced. Since the resolution of the Great Lakes emergency and the removal of Banks, the trusteeship 'establishment' has tripled in size. It is still growing. It is assuming permanence. It is more and more, coming under the control of its own bureaucracy. It is reaching out and it will be given wider and wider areas of influence and control."

"As a power center, backed by Government authority, it will become increasingly attractive, even to some unionists who are frustrated with present problems and impatient with voluntary processes."

As evidence of its reaching out, he states that "at the present moment, the trusteeship bureaucracy is being consulted regarding legislation designed to force constitutional changes in unions and to bring about the Government take-over of hiring halls. The suggestion has been made that the Longshoremen should be added to the trusteeship's control."

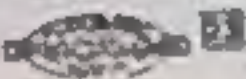
Millard ties in with his slashing indictment of the government trusteeship two propositions; (1) that it be replaced by a union trusteeship, and (2) that the CLC set up a transportation department to which the SIU in Canada, the CMU and other unions associated with them in water transportation, would belong as part of their CLC affiliation. He visualizes such a department as pooling part of their dues revenue, providing modern research, educational, publicity services.

Further down Millard spells out as the "associated" union he has in mind, two non-affiliates of the CLC—the Longshoremen and the Teamsters.

It is practically excluded that Millard would make his statement, (See Page 3—GOV'T.)

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WORKERS  
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## Gov't Trusteeship Must End, Imperils The Rights Of Labor

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which is certain to have far-reaching repercussions, without the approval of the CLC leadership. The fact that Millard comes out against the trusteeship, after he has served as its instrument, and so late in the day, will cause his present opposition to be met with a certain amount of scepticism. This scepticism will be strengthened when it is noted that one point that he presents as evidence of the growth of the bureaucracy is the abolition of his post as trustee-administrator of the SIU, along with that of the acting president and assistant administrator who was replaced by a lawyer.

In motivating the idea of a CLC transportation department Millard recognizes that with or without CLC affiliation and CLC sponsorship, coordinating action is already being taken by these unions, including the Teamsters and Longshoremen, through already existing port councils.

Whatever lies behind Millard's condemnation of the trusteeship and his call for its abolition, his very act of doing so places the struggle against this hateful legislation into motion again, and with every chance of success. All unionists should seize Millard's unchallengeable evidence to step up a massive drive to end the government trusteeship.

Union militants should enter into this situation vigorously. Not to support any backdoor deal with the Teamster and Longshoremen brass, designed to strengthen this or that section of the trade union bureaucracy. They should widen the opening suggested by Millard to fight for the admission of all those expelled and all those not now in the CLC to make it a genuine democratic house of labor.

The militants must fight to strengthen the CLC's case against government trusteeship. The idea that a union trusteeship over the Great Lakes unions by the union brass, be substituted for the government trusteeship, seriously undermines the possibility of mobilizing support from the union rank and file — the very force which must be mobilized to successfully end the government trusteeship.

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# On Winston Churchill, A Relic From The Past

By The Editors

Despite the extravagance of the eulogies and the ritual splendors surrounding the funeral, with his death, Winston Spencer Churchill will now slip into historic anonymity. At his finest hour, with the close of World War II, the British people turned him out of office in a landslide victory for the Labor Party. Since then, aside from the short interlude when he was employed to launch the cold war through his famous Fulton, Missouri speech, Churchill has been in political limbo.

That is not to say that Churchill was not a leader. He was. But he was a leader of a day. That he looms over all other contemporary capitalist politicians is not so much a tribute to him as it is a commentary on the mediocrity of this whole circle, and the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which they represent. Churchill leaves no ideas, the path of mankind — even the path of Toryism which he followed assiduously almost all his life—is no brighter for his having trod it.

Churchill was really at home in one element—he came to the fore only in times of war or preparations for war. His claim to greatness lay in his grasp of the words which, with relish, he dramatized and idealized the bestial and dirty business of imperialist and colonialist slaughter. On all other occasions even his peers considered him incompetent and irresponsible.

Nothing could be more fraudulent than the efforts to present him as anything other than a hidebound reactionary. He was a moving spirit against the young Russian Workers Republic of 1917. He made no secret, he put in writing, his admiration for the bloody butcher Franco and the Fascist dictator Mussolini. He was a crude and heavy-handed opponent of even the meanest social legislation.

It was fitting that his last major international political act, following his downfall as British wartime leader, should be the speech that he made under the sponsorship of the U.S. president at Fulton. This preparatory speech for World War III, which led to the formation of the anti-Soviet alliance, was suitably backed up by Ottawa's scare against Soviet agents in peacetime which surpassed by far any of its campaigns against Nazi agents in the very midst of the war.

In 1942, at the height of his powers, he declared that "I have not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." But preside over its liquidation at the hands of the colonial revolutionists he did—as did his protégés, both MacMillan and Eden.

Just as the Stalinist monolith was breaking up as its strongman Stalin died, so the Churchillian era—the era of British imperialist supremacy—had broken up as its last great exponent passed away. And not all the pomp and ceremony of the funeral will revive it.

## Jerry-Builders at Work

In the past month we have been getting a sample of what is going to be an increasing part of our daily diet from the Big Business controlled TV and press, as the 100th anniversary of confederation approaches.

It had to do with the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister and more than any other individual, the deviser of confederation.

In order to shore up confederation itself, which, as it approaches its centenary, is obviously in an extremely shaky condition, the heat's on to glorify and idealize its contrivers.

Even Donald Creighton, proclaimed as Canada's most eminent historian, felt called upon to do his bit on the way to the celebrations in Kingston. His contribution on this occasion was an attempt to clear Macdonald of being "drunk, feeble and shaking," but mostly drunk, not only when he supplied the appropriate words to the act, but on most other occasions.

When announcing an elaborate program to rehabilitate Macdonald  
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## Jerry-Builders at Work

(Continued From Page 1)

Ontario's Minister of Education, William Davis, said he "would like to see some of the U.S. style enthusiasm here, in establishing Canadian heroes." The Americans have gone too far, but we "don't go far enough," he said.

The editors of the Communist Party's Canadian Tribune have added a footnote. They're for going all the way—even with John A. They of course recognize, as they so circumspectly put it, "Sir John was a Tory," and "his term of office was also not without some very negative features." But "unfortunately," they declare, "all too few Canadians will take time out to pay tribute to the contribution he made to our country." They urge that we should go forward "in the spirit that Sir John A. Macdonald showed in his time."

The present rulers of America and their toadies have done their best to twist history as they do current events to serve their present purposes. But it must be conceded that the founding of the United States of America in the fire and flame of a revolution is one of the really great pages in human history. It threw up men of truly heroic stature, not just Washington, but greater, Franklin, Tom Paine and Sam Adams.

But to make a hero of Sir John A. Macdonald and his associates is to take on a job which so violates the truth that even the present rulers of Canada for all the skill of their lickspittles and the mechanisms at their disposal cannot accomplish.

While the United States of America was forged in the flame of a great popular struggle, confederation was conceived in the stench of chicanery and fraud, in opposition to public opinion, and with no substantial support other than that of the railway barons whose shameless agents Macdonald and company were.

While it would be of interest to speculate what might have happened otherwise, confederation, which stymied the powerful pro-American annexation sentiments in BC and halted its development through American settlement of the Prairies, is a historical fact. Along with its were established other facts; the strong central government which violates French-Canadian rights, the Senate, constructed to represent property and frustrate the democratic process, the CPR octopus which continues to fatten on the public treasury that Macdonald made available to it, and continues to exploit the public domain which, with the lands granted to the Hudson Bay Company, were once of such scope as to leave a mere third of the fertile belt in the Prairies open to settlement.

There is nothing in confederation that the working people in this country have cause to preserve, let alone revere. Those who would, do so only to give historical legitimacy to their class privileges.

Canada does have heroes and a great tradition: the intransigence and daring of the revolutionary democrat, William Lyon Mackenzie, the unity of the Winnipeg General Strike, the insurgency of the CIO—to be studied and extended into the present.

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## A Warning To British Labor Party

There is no mistaking the cause of the recent by-election defeats suffered by the British Labor party. The one election saw the Labor party government's foreign secretary lose out when last October's Labor party majority was transformed into a Tory majority of 205 votes. While labor took the other election, it saw its previous majority cut in half.

There will be many excuses from the labor brass but the indisputable fact is that labor's own supporters used these two by-elections to issue a clear and unmistakable warning to the party leadership in circumstances that they clearly understood threatened the very existence of the government itself.

The electorate in these two constituencies don't want Toryism—they have been labor for decades. They voted labor because they wanted labor to rule in their interests, to boldly move into the situation and solve their problems and project a new society. How could they help but be aware of the difficulties confronting the British economy and the Labor government? But they are not prepared to accept and adjust to these problems, all the talk that they are actually the making of the Tories, notwithstanding.

Instead of tasting the fruits of their victory, under the Wilson leadership the British working class are confronted with the belt-tightening policies traditionally associated with Toryism. While he has not removed the commitments that he placed on the order paper, Wilson has put a damper on wage demands and delayed the promised social security benefits. The special tariffs designed to meet the unfavorable balance of trade have resulted in price hoists by the business interests, which the government has done nothing to block. And despite all his earlier fine words Wilson has conceded to the imperialists the delivery of Buccaneer aircraft to the racialists in South Africa, just as he toed the US-Belgian imperialist line on the Congo, supplying Ascension Island for the airlift of the murderous mercenaries.

While the U.S. financiers came to the rescue of British currency in sheer fear of the snowballing effect its devaluation would have on their own dollar, they, no less than the British speculators and private stock exchange operators, are out to effect a retreat by the Wilson government.

The Wilson leadership has now had a lesson on how the capitalist class see the "national interest." But so far it has shown itself unable to learn anything from it. Instead of adopting a policy of retreat before the financiers, and that is what placing the cost of the crisis on the backs of the working people amounts to, the Labor government needs to move out in a series of actions that break through the capitalist framework of the economy and the state. Not retreat towards accommodation to the Liberals, but bold action towards a socialist Britain, is the only way to halt the alienation of the working people.

It is apparent that the British people are not prepared to continue bearing the burden of the bankrupt British capitalist system. Why should they? What is necessary is to bring them right into contact with all the inner problems, and with their fullest participation, develop a program that will completely remodel the economy. A vast extension of public ownership would have top priority in such a program.

Any other policy is a betrayal of the Labor Party supporters, and appears certain to lead to the defeat of the Labor party government.



## Proscribed -- Socialists Organizing NEW BELGIAN PARTY

By P. Kent

The long harassment by the top leadership of the Belgian Socialist Party of their left opposition in the party has now resulted in a split. Bent on maintaining their positions in a coalition government with the capitalist Social-Christian (Catholic) party, which has caused them not only to abandon the fight for any real socialist objectives but to support many anti-working class measures, they decided to settle accounts with the socialist wing. They jammed through the December 12-13 party congress a resolution to the effect that any form of collaboration with the two weeklies, *La Gauche* (French) and *Links* (Flemish), and any participation in the leadership of the Walloon Popular Movement is incompatible with membership in the party.

Two weeks following the congress, some 600 militants meeting in Liege decided to hold a constitutional congress at Charleroi, February 1, to set up a new left socialist party. The projected name of the new organization is *Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs* (Socialist Workers Party). Its initial base will be in Wallonie; but as soon as similar organizations are set up in Flanders and Brussels, a federation will be organized on the basis of the three regional units.

The Liege meeting was chaired by Fernand Massart, a socialist member of parliament from Namur who left the Socialist Party

a year ago out of disgust over the opportunist policies of the coalition government.

The main report was given by Ernest Gilnne, a socialist member of parliament from Charleroi and the only socialist in parliament who publicly denounced Spaak's neocolonialist intervention in the Congo. Gilnne, a frequent contributor to *La Gauche* was prominent among the 12 M.P.'s who were suspended from the SP faction in the summer of 1963 for voting against repressive anti-union legislation.

Other key addresses were given by Francois Perin, a Liege University professor and main theoretician of the Walloon Popular Movement, and Ernest Mandel, editor in chief of *La Gauche*. Jacques Yerna, secretary of the Liege Trade Union Federation and legal editor of *La Gauche*, sponsored the meeting. The main leaders of the *Jeunes Gardes Socialistes* (socialist youth organization) and the Socialist Students

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# Belgian Socialists to Organize New Party

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Federation were also present.

The central feature of the gathering was the presence of principal shop stewards and direct representatives of the workers of Belgium's most important plants in the Liege and Chalerol heavy industry area. The overwhelming majority of the speakers were these workers representatives.

It was this important working class base of the left which prevented the Spaak-Collard leadership from isolating it, and ultimately to make the decision to launch an open war on it.

The Walloon Popular Movement, in which leadership has now been proscribed, was founded by the late Andre Renard, the leader of the left wing of the Belgian trade unions, after the general strike of December 1960-January 1961. It is closely identified with the left wing of the unions in many industrial regions of the southern part of the country. La Gauche and Links are very popular among left wingers and have a combined circulation of over 10,000 copies a week.

Recent witch-hunting attempts of the reformist leadership to repress the left wing on a local and regional scale suffered defeat. In the Charleroi area their attempts to expel a local section received only 40% of the votes at a regional party congress. In the Nivelles area their attempts to discipline four members of the regional committee for oppositional activities was reduced to six weeks suspension as members of the committee. In Liege their attempt to expel Yerna, which required a two-thirds majority, got less than 50% of the votes. In

addition to this the reformist leadership had to make a hasty retreat after an attempt to ban members of the socialist youth in September. It was these defeats and possibly the difficulties confronting it over its complicity in the atrocities against the Congolese freedom struggle that caused the Spaak-Collard leadership to plunge ahead in its showdown with the left.

For those familiar with the campaign in this country of the New Democratic Party brass against its socialist opposition, particularly their more recent drive against Trotskyism, which has resulted in the proscription of the League for Socialist Action and the Workers Vanguard, the Spaak-Collard witchhunt posed nothing new. Of course it unfolded on a bigger scale and was finally argued right out in the open in the party convention, as it was directed against much more widespread forces with deep and firm roots in the trade unions.

In its December 19th issue bearing the streamer headline LA GAUCHE CARRIES ON, along with Ernest Glinne's speech to the PSB congress, condemning the Belgian coalition government's assistance to Tshombe, appears the summary speech delivered on behalf of the socialist wing by Ernest Mandel.

In the opening words of a brilliant oration, Mandel scored the proscription as a violation of elementary democratic rights, as a ban on tendencies in the party, and thereby a prohibition of effective counter posing of minority views against those of the majority which continually get an airing in the official organs of the movement.

Mandel ridiculed the charge that the socialists had violated the discipline of the movement. He pointed out that party President Collard proved unable to cite a single act of indiscipline on the part of La Gauche, but in fact his accusations show that it is the ideas of the left, the opinions of the left, that the leadership consider to be violations of discipline. In contradistinction he revealed how the leadership, including Spaak himself, has publicly criticized the official party position of opposition to nuclear arms.

Whereas the left warned that the policies of the leadership would lead to such electoral defeats as suffered on October 11, the leadership has blamed the left for the defeat. What brilliant logic this is, ridiculed Mandel — "that the barometer is the cause of rain."

To the accusation that the left are holding onto outmoded ideas, old socialist shibboleths, Mandel responded: "Is it the concept of

capitalism as described in the party's program and the objective of socialism as outlined there — are these the old outmoded ideas?" After sketching in the situation as it exists in Belgium in 1964, Mandel declared what an obvious vindication it is of the old Marxist concept of the need for the workers to take into their own hands the means of production and place them under their control. The real question, that you ought to settle, he challenged, is not a disciplinary one—it involves the essential character of the party that you want.

The left is by no means demoralized. It is organizing the new Parti Socialiste de Travailleurs to prevent the demoralization flowing from the betrayals of the SP leadership from spreading among the vanguard of the working class. Although it is too early to judge the weight of the new party in the parliamentary field, it is certain that it will have a mass base in several of the key working class areas.



Workers' Vanguard #105 Mid-Jan 1965

## GUARDING THE U.S.-CANADIAN BORDER

By Ross Dowson

There are thousands of people seeking Canadian citizenship — some of them desperately. A few have been getting headlines — such persons as Joe Bananas, and Onofrio Minaudo, reputed Mafia leaders, who are revealed to have had attentive and even sympathetic consideration from the highest political and government circles of Ottawa—and the two Italian workers who were held in prison without charges or even a hearing for some eight months.

But the overwhelming majority of those seeking Canadian citizenship have resided many years in this country, raised families and, as they say, "been useful citizens." A few happen to be of the wrong color — their skins are black or yellow — and they are subject to Canada's shamelessly racist immigration laws. The government is not required to give any reason for withholding citizenship. But it is no secret that most are being deprived of citizenship in clear violation of their most basic civil rights—for the political opinions they hold or are alleged to hold.

Joseph Johnson, who has been hauled before the Minneapolis courts by U.S. immigration authorities, doesn't want Canadian citizenship. He wants to remain in the U.S. and retain the U.S. citizenship that is his, not only by birth but by any other criterion one could think of. Nonetheless, if U.S. authorities are serious — and they certainly are—for under the pretext that coming from Canada and overstaying the traditional 48 hours visitor's permit Johnson is a "stateless person," or without so much as a by-your-leave of Canadian government authorities, is more of a Canadian citizen than a U.S. citizen, they are trying to not only deprive him of his American citizenship but deport him—banish him from the

land of his birth.

Johnson is no convicted murderer, dope smuggler, or Nazi collaborator. He is neither guilty nor charged with any such offence which the authorities often casually overlook. But according to U.S. authorities he is a criminal nonetheless — guilty of a whole series of crimes spanning two countries and extending for more than a decade of his short life.

While in Canada he swore an oath of allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. Further—he voted in a Toronto municipal election. And not content with that, when he returned to the United States he overstayed the 48 hour visitor's limit — by some six years now. Of course there were extenuating circumstances in the latter case.

Johnson doesn't deny that he swore an oath of allegiance to the Queen, and voted in the Toronto election. He did so under the name of Peter Methus. He had assumed this name when as a youth of 23, differences with his parents caused him to leave home and come to Canada.

Some years after coming here he made contact with the Toronto Socialist Educational League which later fused with the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver to form the League for Socialist Action. After attending several public functions of the SEL and arguing and discussing its views, he was convinced of the need for socialism, became active, and when the League decided to contest three aldermanic posts along with the mayoralty in the 1958 municipal elections, volunteered to be a candidate.

The League knew Johnson by word and deed as an honest and class conscious militant, and had no reason to quiz him as to his name and birthplace. Besides, being internationalist in outlook the League took dead seriously



Joe Johnson alias Methus

the words and phrases so often uttered and printed about 3,000 miles of undefended border, US-Canadian amity, the common interests that bind us, etc.

Of course Johnson took an oath of allegiance to the Queen — as has every other candidate since elections have been held in Toronto — whether a monarchist or republican. If he had not he would have been immediately disqualified and the electorate deprived of hearing his views.

Shortly after the election, upon hearing that his draft number had been called and that he was being charged with evasion, Johnson decided to return to his former home to plead his case. Unfortunately he no sooner crossed the border when he was picked up by immigration authorities, turned over to the FBI, tried and sentenced to two years in Springfield Penitentiary. These are the circumstances behind his violating the 48 hours visitor's permit.

Johnson was brought before the courts in 1959 not as "stateless" but as an American citizen — and was sentenced to penitentiary as an American citizen — who allegedly failed to measure up to the responsibilities that the Truman government, shipping American youth off to the dirty war in Korea, decreed were the

responsibilities of American citizenship.

Having served his sentence, Johnson returned to civilian life. He has worked at various jobs in the Minneapolis area, has contested public office, and is presently the Minneapolis organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. Now — 6 years later — the government has pounced upon him.

A Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has been set up under the auspices of prominent defenders of civil rights in Minnesota. Recently Norman Thomas has identified himself with the committee and its aim.

When Johnson was brought before a Minneapolis court last month a group of Carleton College students appeared outside and handed the press a resolution protesting the government's actions. They expressed the conviction that the government's actions are a result of Johnson's political activities and as such could be used against anyone opposed to its policies.

We doubt that Ottawa will submit to any attempt on Washington's part to compel it to accept Johnson as a Canadian citizen. They will hardly consider the matter, for Johnson is not a Joe Bananas but a declared opponent of capitalism. Besides, if swearing an oath of loyalty to the Queen and voting in Toronto elections might qualify one for citizenship party label politics would have to be instituted to overcome the chaos caused by the number of nominees seeking citizenship.

We extend every hope for success to the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson. But should they fail, which would be a blow to civil rights in the U.S., for our part we would gladly welcome Johnson's return to the fight for a socialist Canada — and North America.



# Toronto Strike Deadlocked, Typos Must Take New Turn

By P. Kent

TORONTO—The situation with Canada's first automation strike is grim. The lockout by the Big Three Toronto newspaper lords of nearly 700 members of the Typographical Union (Local 91) and 225 members of the Mailers Union has stretched on into its 8th month. All three dailies are being published with few hitches—their owners have arrogantly refused to even meet union representatives since away back on August 24.

There can be no question that the powerful North American newspaper interests are counting heavily on the Toronto bosses to crush the typos and the mailers. With that victory under their belts, their eyes glued to the profits column they intend to introduce new automated processes into newspapers across the country, with arrogant and absolute disregard for the welfare of the

workers who have spent their lives in the trade.

Toronto Controller William Dennison, following talks with Typo officials this month, said that he has the impression that the union is prepared to accept compulsory arbitration. T T U President McCormack gave credence to this opinion in his statement that he is confident that any recommendation from a mediator of the stature of Carl Goldenberg would be fair and honorable. It was Goldenberg with

who the Ontario Tory government, in connivance with the cowardly leadership of the Hotel and Club Employees' Union, closed the casket on the heroic Royal York Hotel strikers.

James Renwick, NDP member Toronto-Riverdale, said high requiem mass over the strike at the Feb. 21 meeting of the Oshawa NDP Association. According to him the strike has been lost by the union—which is now in the process of being destroyed. The situation is exactly the same as it was with the Royal York Hotel workers, he said.

But the strikers are very much alive. They are picketing all three papers on a 24 hour schedule in (See Page 3—TORONTO)

## Toronto Strike Deadlocked, Typos Must Take New Turn

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the face of restrictive injunctions, snow, rain or shine. Their ranks, with few exceptions, have remained solid in the face of persistent police harassment and provocations. And they are out to win. They can win! But certainly not by continuing those policies that have determined the whole strike strategy so far. A new, a drastic, turn is essential — towards the union rank and file in the Toronto area.

The Typo Newsletter of January 29 admits the perilous position of the union. "The Toronto Typographical Union has exhausted every legal step to end this prolonged dispute. The union has two choices left to it," it says; "to wither on the vine and be destroyed, or to take concerted action with the support of the trade union movement.

But if it was not apparent before, it is certainly apparent now that the present leadership is incapable of translating such words into any meaningful action.

It is necessary to call an all-inclusive conference of rank and file delegates from every local in the Toronto area. There the cards must be laid on the table and the forces mobilized to close down the Big Three dailies.

What does the typo leadership come up with to meet the situation? Nothing but a warmed-up version, a hopped-up revival of the old 8 month campaign to get Torontonians to boycott the papers. After committing the scandalous error of dropping the weekly strike paper, *Printers Story*, with the December 19 issue, suddenly, in the third week of February, a

special issue appears asking workers to take the boycott pledge.

They missed the boat last summer when they failed to appeal to the International to do what it has in many other strikes—launch a daily in competition with the struck papers. There is strong support for such a paper in this NDP stronghold. An entire staff was available. But instead of seizing this opportunity they initiated a boycott campaign. But with no alternative press available, as the strike dragged on this appeal failed to find any effective support. It hasn't even the slightest chance of success now.

The present leadership has tried everything—everything—but a serious appeal to the organized strength of the Toronto labor movement.

The leadership's all-out campaign in the latter part of January was the mobilization of everyone for—prayer. With great fanfare they built up a special Service of Prayer, Feb. 5, at St. James Cathedral, officiated by the Roman Catholic Coadjutor Archbishop of Toronto, the Anglican Bishop of Toronto, and the Moderator of the United Church of Canada.

Over the past period there have been raids on newspaper drop points and paperboxes. There have been auto cavalcades in the streets adjoining two of the Big Three dailies. Not only have these proven ineffectual — on some occasions police action has resulted in speeding up the passage of delivery trucks—but they have resulted in the arrests of union militants and a further alienation of public support.

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# Withdraw U.S. Troops Self-Determination for People of Vietnam

By The Editors

When the U.S. State Department, through the week commencing February 7th, threatened with its airstrikes against North Vietnam to escalate the war against China, the people of Canada, as the people elsewhere, tried to find their voice. Prime Minister Pearson spoke up, but not against the men of the Pentagon. He warned the Canadian people against criticizing the United States, against "pulling the eagle's tail feathers." Such criticisms Canadians have—though he hinted none—are better expressed through private channels, he said. While addressing a U of T audience after the third strike, NDP leader T. C. Douglas answered a query as to his silence on the mounting crisis with the comment that the house was not in session.

Now, nearly everyone, except the madmen in Washington, as talking negotiations and settlement of the war in Vietnam. While Vietnamese continue to die, the greatest danger appears to be diminishing. The world is breathing easier. Now, many of those who were silent have become voluble with solutions, all the more that the Vietnamese appear to be approaching a solution on their own.

Most of the solutions being offered are no more acceptable than the previous advice that we should remain silent in the face of the gravest peril to mankind.

What can we expect out of a reconvening of the Geneva Conference with its International Control Commission? The Geneva powers carved South Vietnam out of what is one people and one nation—a major cause of the present trouble. The Control Commission, which at one-time openly admitted that there was no evidence of Chinese violations, not only proved powerless to prevent U.S. intervention, but, particularly Canada, provided the necessary cover for it. Canada sustained the pretext that the 23,000 U.S. forces, armed with all the latest devices on a self-sustaining basis, were merely "advisors" of the score of governments that arose out of the various coups that the U.S. played a primary role in engineering.

As for the proposition of a United Nations presence. What has it to offer after its lengthy silence, and particularly since we have had the experiences not only of its "police action" in nearby Korea but its so-called "peace-maker operation" in the Congo? In so far as it has been permitted to function, the U.N. has proven on every occasion to be nothing more than an instrument of U.S. policy.

→ to right column

## AN APPEAL

The Workers Vanguard needs a minimum of \$4,000 to continue publication for the coming year. It is appealing to its growing number of friends and supporters to come to its aid during a two month campaign commencing March 1st and ending on May Day.

We think there is no need for us to make the case for your supporting the Vanguard with as big a financial contribution as possible. Our record is clear—as a source of information on the struggles of workers in other lands, as an intransigent opponent of the war drive, as a voice for union militants, and a persistent agitator for a socialist Canada.

Of course our subscription rate doesn't begin to pay the cost of the Vanguard. We attempt to be as bold promoters as possible. Our last year's all-woman Trailblazer tour of Ontario was in part financed out of this fund. So too was the publication of several vital pamphlets.

The stakes are high in the fight that the Vanguard is committed to. In this day of the nuclear bomb and U.S. brinkmanship they are life itself. Money is a small matter in such a situation. But we need it and are dependent on you for it. Send your contributions at once to The Workers Vanguard, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.

Workers' Vanguard #106  
Mid-Feb.  
1965

## Editorial continued

The major demand that appeared on demonstrations across the world at the height of the crisis was—Hands off Vietnam—Withdraw U.S. Troops—the only foreign troops there—out of Vietnam. The implementation of this demand would solve the main problem for it is the U.S. presence there—not China or the Soviet Union who have shown utmost restraint in the face of U.S. provocations—that is the threat to peace. Withdrawal of U.S. troops would also permit the people of Vietnam to solve the problems in their own country in their own way, which is their right.

## To a Critic — on Gov't. Trusteeship

We of course agree with Brothers Campbell and Bodelai (see letters to the editor) on the need for a new trade union leadership. And we are for a completely autonomous Canadian trade union movement.

But we don't think Brothers Campbell and Bodelai strengthen their position of support of the continuation of the government trusteeship over the Great Lakes unions when they characterize the CLC leadership as "agents and Gauleiters" of the AFL-CIO, and lay down as the task that has supremacy over all others — the separation of Canadian from U.S. trade unions.

For one thing many CLC affiliates have no international affiliations. Furthermore some of the international unions within the framework of their affiliation have by-and-large established their autonomy. The Canadian district leaderships of the United Steelworkers for some years now have been a thorn in the side of the Macdonald leadership and, it will probably turn out, have just played the decisive role in its defeat in the recent elections.

We are opposed to the present leadership of the CLC, and not solely because sections of them have placed their high office at the service of the AFL-CIO top brass—but because they are a bureaucracy—in their own right. They are an indigenous bureaucracy which has developed thanks to the limited reformist aims that under the pressure of capitalist society they have given the movement they head, and the privileges that they have acquired and dispense.

We are for a new leadership that is militant, that bases itself entirely on the initiative, ingenuity and massive strength residing in the 1½ million strong ranks in the Canadian union movement—on democracy.

The first principle in the program that is necessary in order to forge this new leadership is the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state. This means not only rejection of labor-management-government co-operation bodies, but opposition to the multitudinous laws that have been imposed on the unions, and above all, irreconcilable opposition and struggle against government intervention in the internal affairs of the labor movement.

(See Page 3 — TO A CRITIC)

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## THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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## To a critic—on Gov't Trusteeship

(Continued From Page One)

The real enemy of the working class in this country is not the trade union bureaucracy, either native or foreign, but the capitalists, the political tools that they have shaped to their class interests, the Liberal and Tory parties, and the entire state apparatus which they have moulded to serve their purpose and over which they have complete control. Our opposition to the present trade union leadership flows from their failure to give incisive leadership in the struggle against the capitalists, their political parties and their state.

In the case of the trusteeship over the Great Lakes unions the CLC leadership forced a surprised but not unwilling capitalist government to intervene directly in what is an internal affair of the trade union movement. They thereby provide them with a precedent which will be used to justify further intervention in the internal affairs of the unions, posing the threat of the transformation of the unions from organs of working class struggle, which they certainly still are in this country, into disciplinary organizations over the workers, as under Hitler yesterday and Franco today.

When the trusteeship was first posed we warned unionists who supported it as a method of fighting the corrupt Banks machine that this type of cure could prove worse than the disease itself. The means are in complete violation of the end which militants pursue. Charles Millard, on the basis of his experience as a trustee, has affirmed our warning to the hilt. We find Brothers Campbell and Bodelai's speculation on his motives interesting but not the essential question before us. The task is to take advantage of his entirely correct criticism of the trusteeship to get rid of trusteeships—both government and union brass.

The main thing is to get the government's hands out of the internal affairs of the union rank and file. Even if we were faced with no other choice than as Campbell and Brother Bodelai suggest, either government trusteeship or a trusteeship in the hands of the CLC leadership, there is no doubt in our mind what that choice must be. The most powerful anti-labor force in this country is the capitalist state, its police, its courts. The chief strength of the trade union brass is the apathy of the ranks, their failure to see the possibilities in the situation, and what support the capitalist state gives them from time to time. We have no doubt at all that the union ranks can come to grips with the CLC bureaucracy. If they cannot, they will never be able to take on and conquer the real enemy—the Canadian capitalist class.

## Call it What it Must Become!

Now that the party is losing its newness it is to be hoped that this year's convention of the NDP will bring its name up into line with its class base—by renaming it the Canadian Labor Party.

Ontario NDP leader Donald C. MacDonald frankly faced the reality that the party is labor-based at the Ontario Federation of Labor educational seminar held in Niagara Falls this month. He reported that, while 450 union locals with a membership of 150,000 are affiliated, the party itself has only 12 to 15,000 members in Ontario.

"Our crippling weakness in Ontario," he said, "is that we have never built a mass membership." MacDonald admitted that all the attempts at the founding convention and ever since to clear the party of being labor, were a mistake. "As provincial leader of the Ontario NDP I for one say that this is a closed chapter. We are proud of our association with the labor movement," he said, "because without their co-operation and assistance, we cannot build an effective social democratic party in the country."

MacDonald made a plea to unionists to come into the party. "I have no fear of the consequences if this genuine cross-section swamps the NDP."

His urgings that union affiliates supplement the present 60 cents per member with contributions causes one to suspect that first and foremost in the leadership's mind are increased revenues. But we will buy that—with increased taxation, union ranks will demand increased representation, and representation freely chosen, with restrictions of no kind, from their own ranks.



## Sibley's Gift

The outrageous prohibition of the eminent U.S. education-  
alist, Professor M. Sibley, from  
setting foot on Canadian soil,  
and even more so Immigration  
Minister John R. Nicholson's  
defence of the whole event,  
has done Canadians a service.

Mr. Nicholson didn't cavil,  
he didn't double-talk, he didn't  
pass the buck onto minor  
officials. He would do none of  
these things that the opposi-  
tion urged him to do.

He upheld the barring not  
once but twice because, as he  
said, that is just what Cana-  
da's Immigration Act demands,  
and what has in fact been en-  
forced.. against.. innumerable  
and less notable would-be visi-  
tors.

Mr. Nicholson only re-  
vealed the truth — that the  
Pearson government and every  
government before it, has put  
on or left on the books, as  
official government policy,  
racist, discriminatory, and Mc-  
Carthyite statutes which it  
enforces at will.

# Speak Out Against U.S. Horror Weapons Escalation in Vietnam

By The Editors

The use of white phosphorous bombs, napalm bombs and poison  
gas by U.S. forces and their South Vietnam "allies" against what  
Washington calls "Communist guerrillas," but which have included  
children in a school allegedly flying a Viet Cong flag, sent a shock  
wave of horror throughout the world.

With its utter failure to head off the ever-widening support of  
the Vietnamese people for the freedom fighters, the Pentagon has  
adopted a continuously accelerating policy of aggression.

From supplying "advisors" on the request of its own puppets, it  
has landed thousands of Marines. From retaliatory bombings of the  
North for every successful National Liberation Front raid against  
U.S. installations in the South, it has moved to what are called  
"measured strikes" against the North. Now it is conducting indis-  
criminate bombings against industrial areas and populated sectors  
further and further to the North.

With the horror of poisonous gas and the more frequent release  
to the press of photos showing the brutal torture of captured rebels,  
the Pentagon appears to be softening up, to be preparing the American  
people and the people of the world, for an even greater horror—the  
use of nuclear bombs that could well take us not only up to but over  
the brink into the nuclear Armageddon.

A March 12 AP dispatch from Saigon states that U.S. commanders  
are considering the use of such bombs. The dispatch reports a press  
briefing by U.S. Army Chief of Staff, Gen. H. K. Johnson. "Various  
sources close to the Johnson mission," it said, "have reported that  
items under study included com-  
mitment of U.S. combat units, in-  
creased bombing of North Viet-  
nam, and the selection of possi-  
ble targets for nuclear bombing."

What has been Ottawa's role as  
we hurtle down the path towards  
another Korea, and possibly  
beyond?

As other world powers pressed  
for the opening of negotiations  
and a peaceful settlement, Ottawa  
released a report of the Canadian  
representative on the three-man  
International Control Commission  
which echoed the Pentagon's de-  
fense of its retaliatory bombings  
of the North. As the U.S. acceler-  
ated its aggression, Pearson  
spread rumours of peaceful ne-  
gotiations. Instead of demanding  
the withdrawal of US forces so  
that the Vietnamese could freely  
determine their own future he  
called for a UN presence.

While the rest of the world  
fears that the use of poison gas  
is an opening wedge for further  
chemical warfare, Minister of Ex-  
ternal Affairs Martin even finds  
words to defend it.

To no avail NDP spokesmen  
have been pressing the govern-  
ment for an open debate on its  
Vietnam policy. But the debate is

## CDN. SPECIALIST EXPOSES U.S. LIE

In order to justify its unde-  
clared and rapidly accelerating  
war on North Vietnam, Wash-  
ington claims that the North  
sustains and in fact controls  
the guerrilla forces that now  
control major portions of  
South Vietnam.

But there has been no sig-  
nificant infiltration of North  
Vietnamese troops or equip-  
ment into South Vietnam, ac-  
cording to Col Bradley M.  
Webb, a military advisor to  
the ICC for 18 months in 1959  
and 1960. "This was certainly  
true until a few months ago.  
There is no reason to believe  
differently now," he told a To-  
ronto audience on March 14.

Asked how this jibbed with  
the minority report by the  
Canadian member of the Inter-  
national Control Commission  
sustaining the U.S. charge,  
Col. Webb admitted that Can-  
ada was influenced by the U.S.  
"I'm afraid we're a satellite  
whether we admit it or not,"  
he said.

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already underway across the continent, and where it counts — among the people. The Canadian people have never been so torn with doubt. They are waiting for a lead. Important sectors of the American people are profoundly uneasy and would listen if the word was given by leading spokesmen of Canada's labor party.

It's time to remove the parliamentary gag that the NDP members have imposed on themselves and to speak up clearly in this hour of increasing peril. It is time to address the people of Canada and the United States, to mobilize their forces, to launch a mighty drive demanding the withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam so that the people of that war-torn peninsula can freely decide their own course.

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## Things Will Never be the Same

The eight days vigil in front of the U.S. Consulate General in Toronto demanding action by President Johnson against the white supremacists of Alabama came to a climax with the biggest march and civil rights demonstration in Canadian history in Ottawa.

Over 2,000 moved in silence past the U.S. Embassy and assembled on parliament hill to hear the reading of a statement by Prime Minister Pearson and an address by NDP leader Douglas. The prime minister's statement, a whitewash of the Johnson administration, was heard in silence. In sharp contrast was the applause for Douglas and the stormy outburst of support when he expressed shock that the U.S. government could send troops to Vietnam, but not to Selma.

Two days previously 2,000 assembled at the Ontario government buildings in Toronto. Although all party leaders were invited only NDP leader MacDonald spoke and joined the march on the U.S. Consulate General.

In the course of that week and ever since then, there has been demonstration after demonstration across the country in support of the U.S. Negro struggle—one of the more notable—the March 23 sitdown of over 2,000 in front of the U.S. Consulate-General in Montreal. Pickets and demonstrations have now become an essential part of the heretofore imperturbable Canadian way of life.

Who started all this, who composed the overwhelming bulk of the demonstrators, who lined the sidewalks in sub-freezing weather, who collected the funds for buses, who made the whole thing roll? Why the youth! Canada's student youth! The same who only a few days earlier Governor General Vanier called the milk and honey generation who he doubted was "willing to submit itself to work, to effort and to help others."



# MAY DAY

By The Editors

The initiative being taken by the Montreal Comité de Cordination des Mouvements de Gauche again places Quebec in the forefront. The committee is sponsoring a united May Day celebration in Montreal that will bear at least some semblance to the way labor's day will be celebrated in practically every other sector of the globe, but North America.

May Day was born in America — in the great struggle for the shorter work week, around which a fighting unity of labor was forged.

With the declaration by the General Congress of Labor in Baltimore 1866 "to free the labor of this country from capitalist slavery with the winning of the shorter work day," eight hour leagues mushroomed up in all important industrial centers. In Canada the campaign for the 9-hour day burst out into the streets with the 1872 Toronto Printers strike.

It was the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U.S. and Canada, later known as the AFL, that passed a resolution at its 1884 convention declaring from May 1, 1886 on, "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor." And together with the Knights of Labor it prepared for and called a nation-wide strike to win the 8 hour day on May 1 1886.

It was Chicago's Haymarket Square which witnessed a murderous police assault on an 8-hour day demonstration, a bombing by an unknown provocateur, and the frame-up and martyrdom of eight anarchist leaders, that immortalized May Day.

In 1889, the first Congress of the Second International, to whose ghost the NDP is affiliated today, inspired by the struggles in America, declared May Day to be labor's day. It set aside May Day as the day of "demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions."

In many countries of the world May Day has retained its full significance as a day of mass demonstrations, of anti-capital struggle, a day dedicated to working class unity, to international solidarity of all working peoples, and thus, against imperialist war.

This May Day won't see masses in the streets of Montreal behind these banners. It will be celebrated, as it has been over the past decades in America, with a meeting—but this time a meeting with a difference.

Among the participants will be leading representatives of the Parti Socialiste du Québec, Parti Pris, Socialisme '65, Révolution Québécoise, La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Le Parti Communiste, Le Caucus de Gauche, Le Club Socialiste Jacques Perreault, Groupe d'Action Poulair, La Revue Socialiste, and it is to be hoped, the NDP. There will be a speech by Fernand Daoust, 1st vice-president of the Federation Travail du Québec, or Steel leader Emile Boudreault; the presidents of the FTQ, CSN, UCC and UGEO are expected to accept invitations to make short speeches.

While it will not be a demonstration of the tremendous power of the working class, this Montreal meeting, bringing together every force on the left, speaks well for the future.

It shows that some of the past sectarianism and dogmatism that has been an inhibiting factor in the growth of labor and socialism on this continent is wearing thin. Having found it possible to share a common platform on the broad aims of May Day, we can expect that in the future it will be more possible to collaborate in the most practical sense in the struggle for a shorter work day to meet the challenge of automation, and against the looming threat of U.S. imperialist aggression escalating into the nuclear holocaust.

And we anticipate that the left in the rest of Canada will learn from the Québec experience.



# WORKERS Vanguard

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## Gardiner-Givens Hit Hydro With Compulsory Arbitration

By Ross Dowson  
Toronto mayoralty candidate  
1964

When the Ontario Tory government knotted compulsory arbitration around the necks of the Toronto Hydro employees they widened this union-busting noose to take in another 537 workers. Only a few months earlier Premier Robarts imposed compulsory arbitration on workers employed in Ontario hospitals at the same time as a six-man committee of Ottawa and BC Socred government officials handed down a recommendation that it be imposed on West Coast fishermen.

The members of Local 1 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CLC) tried to negotiate a new contract with the Toronto Hydro Commission. But there never were any real negotiations. When former Metro Mayor Frederick G. (Big Daddy) Gardiner took the empty seat on the three-man commission that had been handed to him on a platter by his cronies in city hall, and plunked his hulk down beside Toronto's Mayor Givens, he took over negotiations. Gardiner, who even had

telephone calls to Hydro general manager Harry Hyde for information on negotiations referred to him, soon made it apparent that with the aid of the boys in Queen's Park his sole aim was to

(See Page 4 — WIDEN)

## Widen Compulsory Arbitration Noose

(Continued from Page 1)

impose compulsory arbitration on Local 1.

Even before the local took a strike vote he declared that "I am adamant on two main points": One, to force the union to drop 55 non working foremen from its ranks. Another — to remove overtime from its present voluntary basis except in exceptional circumstances.

According to union counsel Martin Levinson and Tom Paton the union's nominee on the conciliation board, the Hydro's counsel refused to negotiate further after tabling the commission's offer. Hoping to overcome the deadlock the union withdrew its president from negotiations in favor of CUPE's national rep, P. J. O'Keefe, and the local's secretary. But shortly O'Keefe withdrew, charging that the Hydro had thumbed its nose at the employees, the union, and the Labor Department.

Two hours after negotiations had broken off, and 30 hours before the union's strike deadline, Premier Robarts introduced on the floor of the house the bill that he had had drafted more than a week previously to impose compulsory arbitration on Local No. 1.

The whole action was so crude that the new Liberal leader, Andrew Thompson, felt called upon to express his reluctance about supporting the bill. In a last minute maneuver NDP leader Donald MacDonald went so far as to propose that if a government appointed mediator failed to resolve issues at dispute within 60 days that the union itself would accept another form of compulsory arbitration — binding arbitration.

This succeeded in causing the Liberals to add their votes against the Tory majority and the Labor Minister to suggest that the government was favorable to this proposal — but the Hydro Commission was still adamant. Within a matter of two minutes following the vote, the Lieutenant Governor was hurried in to give royal assent to this police state, this corporate state bill.

The fact is that no concessions, no matter how far reaching, serve to appease the union busters. In reality they have only served to cripple the union movement from rallying its forces to oppose the whole anti-labor drive.

Not one top official of the union movement has even made words against these far reaching, these precedent making moves to deprive labor of its most elementary rights. Some fat-headed hospital union leaders even tried to find comfort in the belief that they may increase their number of dues paying members.

The latest action of 12 building trade unions, which will represent some 6,000 construction workers to be employed in the twinning project of the Welland canal, only furthers the extension of compulsory arbitration from what are portrayed as essential services into any area that Big Business interests and their political stooges can designate. In return for full bargaining rights before a single man has appeared on the job, the top brass of these unions has signed a seven year no strike pledge, regardless of disputes — a type of pledge that, aside from the Stalinists, Canadian labor refused to sign all during the war years.

The union busters have been making considerable headway. But they can be blocked. It is necessary for militants to start the struggle right on the local floors — to pass resolutions of protest, and to begin the mobilization of labor's mighty ranks. This alone can preserve the unions as fighting instruments for defense of the working peoples' interests.



# NDP Leader Douglas Denounces Ottawa's Support of Aggression In Vietnam and Santo Domingo

In the first confrontation of party views permitted in the House of Commons on the threatening situation that U.S. aggression in Vietnam has led to, NDP leader T. C. Douglas scored the Johnson administration, and the Liberal government, for its "supine subservience" to it.

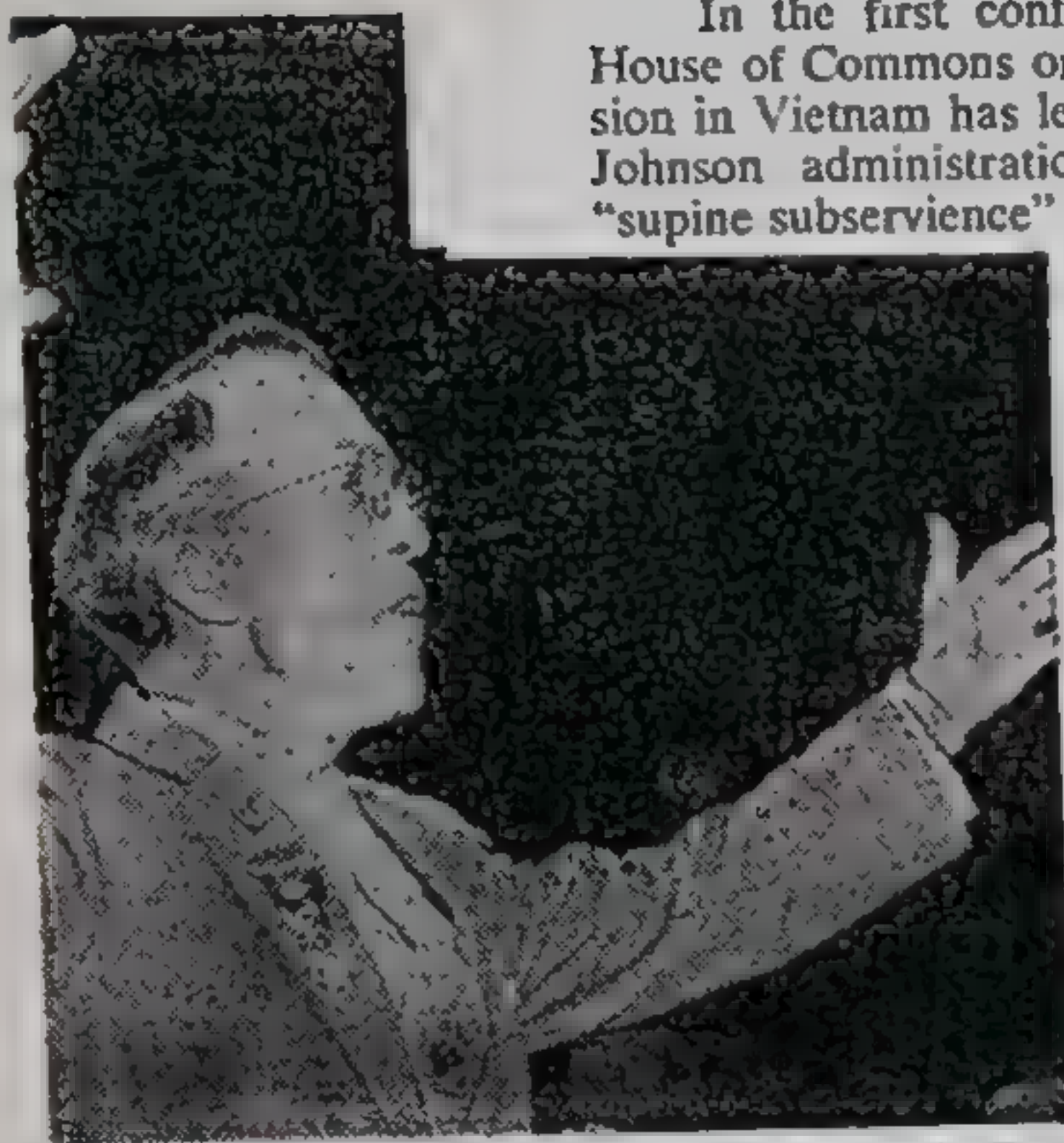
The NDP leader warned that "what is now a local war could escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth."

The attempt, he said, "to make the war in South Viet Nam a holy crusade against Communism is an invitation to swallow propaganda wholesale and shut one's eyes to the facts."

"The Secretary of State for External Affairs said in the House of Commons on April 2 as reported on page 13106 in *Hansard*: 'No one can suggest that the intervention of the United States in these circumstances is illegal.' How can he stand up in the House of Commons and say that, in view of the fact that Canadian representatives on the Truce Commission state that an agreement amount-

ing to a military alliance exists between the United States and South Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Accord? How can he say such a thing when the United States insisted that the

(See Page 2 — LIBERATION)



Douglas, Leader of the New Democratic Party



# "Liberation Front Leading Fight for Self-determination"—Douglas

(Continued from Page One)

Diem Government refuse the holding of elections, though elections had been guaranteed by the Geneva Accord? How can the hon. gentleman say such a thing when the United States refused to have the country reunified as had been provided by that Accord?

"Well, the situation has grown much worse since that report was issued. United States forces there now number more than 30,000 and another 25,000 are to be sent. The tragedy of this whole affair is that the United Nations has been bypassed . . . has been bypassed repeatedly not only in the matter of Viet Nam but also in the matter of the Dominican Republic.

"The argument made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs this afternoon is that we must support the war in South Viet Nam in order to prevent the expansion of Communist China."

Mr. Douglas went on to falsely justify Australia's and New Zealand's intervention in Indonesia's conflict with Malaysia as an act against aggression. "But," he charged, "we must not allow, under the guise of preventing acts of aggression, any great power to repress the legitimate aspirations of the people of any country for self-government and the right of self-determination. . . .

"This revolution of the coloured races of the world demanding the right of self-determination is going to go on. It has nothing to do with Communism. Communists, of course, fish in troubled water as they always do, and they ally themselves with any protest movement. But if we took all the Communist countries and all the Communists out of the world this afternoon the problem of the struggle for the right to self-determination by the coloured peoples of the earth in Asia, Africa and South America would continue and we would still have to face that problem.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

"A new form of colonialism is growing up. It is no longer a matter of the white man becoming the governor of a backward people backed by the bayonets of his own country. Instead we see some of the great powers supporting puppet governments which are pliable to their will and prepared to accept political and

economic domination by the great powers. For this reason it is not easy to identify aggression in the manner that it once was, and one cannot afford to be as dogmatic as he might otherwise be. I am quite prepared to admit that we face a very complex and complicated world situation.

"The history of Viet Nam is the story of a people who have been struggling for self-government for centuries. . . . During the second world war their land was occupied by the Japanese, and we sometimes tend to forget that in 1945 the Viet Minh forces by themselves drove out the Japanese forces. There were neither British nor French nor American troops on their soil when they drove out the Japanese and set up a Viet Minh government.

"But they were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of their independence very long. A British army under General Gracey moved into Viet Nam and he said that his government was not prepared to recognize the Viet Minh government. The United States put up the money to equip French forces and transport them to Viet Nam, and French Indochina once again was established as part of the French empire. Once more the Vietnamese rose in revolt and continued to fight until in May, 1954, at the battle of Dien Bien Phu the French were compelled to capitulate. Even then the Viet-

and in July, 1954, an agreement for the cessation of hostilities and a final declaration were signed by the nations which attended that conference, all except the United States which refused to sign the accord . . .

"Surely, Mr. Chairman, the terms of the Geneva Accord are clear: first, that the division of Viet Nam into North and South Viet Nam by drawing a provisional line on the 17th parallel was to be temporary and, second, that at the end of a two year period there were to be elections over the whole of Viet Nam.

"When President Johnson says, as he did to the people of the United States 'We seek no more than a return to the essentials of 1954' he has forgotten that the division between North and South Viet Nam was temporary, and that it was the United States and South Viet Nam who first violated the Geneva Accord by refusing to agree to elections in 1956, as had been provided for under the Geneva Accord

## U.S. TAKES OVER

"Why were elections not held, and why was Viet Nam not unified as had been envisaged in the Geneva Accord? One only has to look at the history that has taken place since then to understand the situation. Ever since France had returned to Viet Nam in 1945 it had received military and economic help from the United States. When the Secretary of State for External Affairs tells us today that the United States does not want South Viet Nam as a military base, surely he is flying in the face of the statements which were made by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1953 and 1954, when the then President pointed out that the United States had spent \$400 million in keeping the French army in the field in Viet Nam, and that this was necessary because South Viet Nam had economic and political interests which were invaluable to the United States.

"And when in 1953 the United States could see that the French were no longer going to be able to hold on in Viet Nam, they brought in Diem, who was set up in South Viet Nam as the head of a government, a government that was dictatorial and repressive, a government which began

by abolishing land reform, land reform in a country where 80 per cent of the land is owned by absentee landlords, abolished local elections, and jailed without trial not only Communists but thousands of non-Communists who had belonged to democratic political parties up until that time. It is hardly to be wondered then that the National Liberation Front was able to gather to itself a great bulk of the support of the people of South Viet Nam in revolt against the dictatorial government of Diem.

## MARTIN'S MYTHS

"The Secretary of State for External Affairs continues to tell the House the same myth that the China lobby and the American propagandists have been peddling all over the North American continent, that the United States intervention in South Viet Nam is at the request of a sovereign power under attack from the outside.

"In the first place one questions South Viet Nam as being a sovereign power. From the very beginning it has been a puppet government supported militarily and financially by the United States, and to say that the United States was invited in by South Viet Nam is like saying that Edgar Bergen was invited to dinner by Charlie McCarthy. The fact of course is that the reason the United States had to intervene is because the puppet government it had set up did not have the support of its own people, and that today two thirds of Viet Nam is occupied by the National Liberation Front who collect the taxes, who run the villages, and who operate the greater part of the country. The government has never been able to hold on to anything but the cities, and this with a succession of governments because it does not enjoy the support of the people.

"It is undoubtedly true that the guerrillas have had military assistance from North Viet Nam, but in the main this has been relatively small. This afternoon the Minister said that North Viet Nam has given military assistance on a grand scale. I would like to see some evidence of this grand scale. . . .

"Very briefly, Mr. Chairman, because my time is running out, I want to suggest two or three

## Pardon us

for the long delay in the publication of this issue

## We have moved

a time consuming operation and what with our accumulating files and equipment a bigger one than even we had contemplated

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namese were not given the right of self-government.

"A conference of some of the great powers was held in Geneva

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things that I think need to be done. First, I think the Canadian Government should call for an immediate end to the bombing of North Viet Nam. . . .

"Second, Canada ought to call for unconditional peace negotiations. The Secretary of State for External Affairs keeps repeating the myth that President Johnson has agreed to unconditional peace negotiations. He has agreed to nothing of the kind. He has imposed two conditions. One, he will not talk to the Viet Cong. To talk to the government of North Viet Nam does not mean that they can call off the revolt. They have no more control over the Viet Cong than Stalin had over Mao Tse-tung. If the United States Government is going to sit down and negotiate peace, it will have to deal with the people who now occupy and govern two thirds of the territory of South Viet Nam.

"The second condition the President has imposed is this. He said it must be understood that South Viet Nam will continue as a sovereign power. I am not opposed to their continuing as a sovereign power if the people of South Viet Nam want it to continue as a sovereign power; but that must be something for the people themselves to decide."

In his third point, despite its record as a screen for imperialism in Korea, the Congo and elsewhere, Mr. Douglas called for a conference by the UN, or the Geneva Accord powers, once a cease fire was established.

"Fourth, I think there has to be, during an interim period, a peace keeping force in South Viet Nam pending free elections, at which time the people themselves would decide whether or not they want to join North Viet Nam or to continue as an independent state and elect a government. The Secretary of State for External Affairs said today that he was sure I believed the United States should get right out, and he said there would be chaos. I do not think the United States should ever have been there in the first place. . . ."

#### QUESTION OF US TROOPS

Although he noted that the secretary of state said he was sure that he, Mr. Douglas, believed that the U.S. should immediately withdraw all its troops from Viet Nam, Mr. Douglas unfortunately failed to take this entirely correct position. Instead he expressed the "hope that the U.S. forces would gradually be withdrawn and replaced by a peace keeping force set up by the UN or the Geneva Accord Powers

which would maintain order until a government could be elected and peace and order restored to that unhappy land." . . . in essence the same situation that existed before and which led to the present perilous situation.

"I was going to deal with the Dominican Republic" said the NDP leader, "but in view of the fact that I am over my time I do not think I ought to encroach further on the Committee's time, except to say that the situation in the Dominican Republic raises some very serious problems for Canada, located as we are in the Western Hemisphere and affected by anything that is done by the United States. No one can deny the right of the United States to go into a country to defend its nationals and its property. But within 24 hours of going into the Dominican Republic the President of the United States said that they were there primarily to prevent another Cuba.

"This raises the whole question whether or not the Johnson doctrine has replaced the Monroe doctrine, namely that the United States reserves the right at any time to intervene unilaterally wherever a country has a government the ideology of which is unacceptable to the United States. I was glad to hear the statement made by the Minister this morning to the effect that we do not accept this doctrine. I think we should also make it clear that any peace keeping force set up by the Organization of American States should have the approval of the United Nations. Otherwise the world is embarking upon a very dangerous precedent which will allow any group of nations, under the guise of setting up a peace keeping force, carrying out military and political intervention in the affairs of other countries.

"The actions of the United States in South Viet Nam and in the Dominican Republic have been defended, as they were today both by the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Leader of the Opposition, on the ground that they are against Communism. I am against Communism, Mr. Chairman. I am against Communism because I believe it restricts the liberty of the individual, and because it curtails the freedom of the mind and the freedom of the human spirit. But I doubt very much whether the intervention in South Viet Nam or in the Dominican Republic was because the United States was concerned about individual freedom. If they were, I do not know how they put up with Diem for

so long in South Viet Nam, or Batista in Cuba, or Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.

"I think that the United States has been much more concerned with the fear that these countries will have Governments that will want to exercise their right to manage their own economic affairs. . . .

"I think that sums up the whole question very clearly. We in this party are prepared to support collective security to resist aggression, but we do not believe that any country has the right to use military power to force dictatorial and discredited regimes upon people who are seeking the right to self-determination. We do not want some new form of colonialism masquerading as an anti-Communist crusade."

Challenged by External Affairs Minister Martin to explain how the Liberal government's position differed from that taken by Harold Wilson at the head of the British Labour Party government, Mr. Douglas admitted that there "is very little difference" and dissociated the NDP from Wilson's policies.



# ***It's Not Wage Increases that are Behind the Price Hoists***

By The Editors

"It's higher wages that are causing the ever-rising prices we are having to pay." "Wages that workers in some industries are demanding and getting are pricing Canadian goods out of the world market and threaten the country with unemployment."

That's what Big Business and its many and diverse spokesmen and apologists have been crying out ever since the end of World War II, day in and day out, raising it to a crescendo pitch whenever unionists demand wage increases.

And there is no denying that this campaign has had considerable effect. It has alienated unorganized workers, salaried workers, and persons living on fixed incomes, from the union movement which they blame for the higher prices they are being compelled to pay. It has inhibited many workers who desperately need more money from demanding it. It has tended to direct the union movement into concentrating on fringe benefits rather than wage increases — on hospital and medical plans and thereby weakening the political struggle for socialized medicine — a health plan available to all.

But now there is data available from a source few will challenge that gives the lie to this entire capitalist campaign. The labor management division of the federal Labor Department's economics and research branch has just released a study. It was made by the chief of the division, George Saunders, and examines the movement of wages during the past 10 years.

Wage movements, he found, do not appear to have exercised a serious push-on prices in the past decade. Labor's share of total income, he asserts, has changed very little in the past 10 years.

With the caution and the circumspection that has become the norm for government-employed economists, Mr. Saunders doesn't say that current high prices are due to capitalist profit-gouging or the general

(See Page 3 — WAGE INCREASES)

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- June 1965 Editorial

## **THE WORKERS' VANGUARD**

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## **Wage Increases and Price Hoists**

(Continued from Page One)

waste and inefficiency of capitalism as such. But he does say however that the price increases have taken place against a background of large scale expansion, high rates of investment spending, and brisk demand for Canadian products in foreign markets.

He points out that there is little likelihood of wages being a factor in creating price inflation since his study showed wage settlements varied widely with economic conditions in given communities and economic fortunes of individual industries.

Wage differentials in Canada, the study showed, whether between regions or between industries in the same region, are considered wide by international standards. Within one industry wages for skilled workers often range from 50% to 100% more than rates for unskilled.

The study refuted the view that some Canadian industries have been unable to compete with imports because of higher wages paid in Canada. "There is little evidence to support this view," Mr. Saunders says, "wages in industries subject to intense import competition are generally lower than wages elsewhere and during the Nineteen Fifties rose more slowly than wages on average." Unit costs in these industries actually fell due to the rapid introduction of new technology.

That is just what Workers Vanguard has been saying all along. Labor's wage demands have been of a defensive character — after the fact of price increases. So that labor could preserve its fighting capacity to increase its share of the values it produces we have urged the insertion in union contracts of a sliding scale clause that would automatically assure increased wages with each increase in the cost of living. We have urged that labor should see that pensioners, all those on fixed incomes, should have the same protection — automatic increases to meet the rising cost of living.

Hand in hand with this we have urged that the books of the big monopolists, trusts, and corporations, be opened to public scrutiny, that the truth about their high profits, rake-offs and special emoluments to top executives, and their secret deals and conspiracies, be laid bare to the public. If anyone doubts that it is capitalism that's to blame for high prices and doubts that we need to replace it with a modern streamlined economy owned by the working people and operated by them according to plan, with production for use and not profit, then we would challenge them to join us in this campaign to open the books, and, as a first step, demand that the government make available the confidential material that it has at its disposal.



## Statement on Cancellation of Cdn. Student Tour to Cuba

TORONTO — Vernel Olson, National Chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and chairman of the Directorate of the Student Tour to Cuba, announced June 3 that the tour of 100 Canadian university students will not take place this summer. Mr. Olson made a special trip to Cuba after receiving word of the cancellation of the tour. The tour was called off by Cuban authorities without explanation, just two weeks before the first students were to leave Canada.

The tour was launched early in March after a firm commitment from the Cuban Institution I.C.A.P. (Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples) was obtained through the Cuban Ambassador to Canada, Dr. Americo Cruz. On the basis of similar commitments last year a group of 45 Canadian students visited Cuba for eight weeks during July and August 1964.

At a joint meeting of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Student Tour to Cuba Directorate, a leading member of the Toronto Selection Committee and two representatives of the students, a full report was given by Mr. Olson and the following statement was adopted unanimously:

"The cancellation of the student tour to Cuba after three months of intensive preparation, and just as the first students were getting ready to leave Canada, constitutes a grave blow to efforts of Canadians to establish the truth about Cuba and is a blow to the revolution itself. The organizers of the tour were deeply conscious of the importance of 100 Canadian youth visiting Cuba this summer, in view of the increasing isolation of the island and its people from the North American continent. The tour was doubly significant in view of the total isolation of Cuba from the United States due to the restrictive travel ban.

"The unprecedented response to the tour by students from

coast to coast was a high point in over four years of activities by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and student campus committees. The Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been the only committee in the western capitalist world that has been able to establish real understanding of the Cuban revolution on a broad non-sectarian basis. The impressive response to this year's tour is testimony to the respect which the Committee has earned, and is living proof of the interest in the Cuban revolution which its activities have inspired. Further evidence of this respect and interest is the fact that over thirty eminent persons from Canadian universities participated in the selection process.

"It is a serious matter that the results of over four year's work in defence of the truth of the Cuban revolution has now been jeopardized, not by the external enemies of the revolution, but by the arbitrary action of an institution of the Revolutionary Government. We believe that the best interests of the Cuban people have not been served by this action. The widening interest among Canadians in the struggles of the Cuban people for a better life will undoubtedly be greatly retarded. The increasing interest of Canadian youth in the Cuban revolution, as witnessed by the formation of five campus committees on Cuban and Latin American affairs in the past year will inevitably suffer a serious setback.

"The withdrawal of previous commitments was a blow not only to the 100 students who gave up the remuneration of summer employment in order to witness the Cuban experiment first-hand, but was also a blow to at least 100 people from all parts of Canada who gave time, energy and money to assure the success of the tour in every respect.

"After serious consideration of all available information, we can

only conclude that the student tour was the victim of sectarian forces within the revolution itself which have been measurably strengthened in recent months as a result of the critical international situation. This problem is not new for the Cuban revolution. Only a few years ago Fidel Castro found it necessary to speak out against this danger when he attacked the methods of Anibal Escalante (former General Secretary of the United Party.)

"The cancellation of the tour can be a source of satisfaction only to the sworn enemies of the Cuban revolution, or to hopeless sectarians. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been struck a harsh blow but our confidence in the Cuban people and their cause, and the pressing need to continue our activities in defence of the revolution, is unshaken. The real friends of Cuba will not diminish their efforts to bring the truth about the Cuban revolution to the Canadian people."



# An interview with Henrique Cerquiera- FIGHTER FOR A FREE PORTUGAL

By Ross Dowson



Henrique Cerqueira

"With the murder of General Humberto Delgado the people will fight with increased fury against the fascist Salazar regime. Those who do not want to struggle are trying to convince the people that now all is lost. That is not true," said Henrique Cerqueira in a small working class home in West Toronto.

"We in the Portuguese National Liberation Front," he said, and with some authority as he was Delgado's closest associate and one of the last two persons to see him alive as he went to Spain last February to his death, "we are going ahead with the struggle, we are finished with the paper work and are preparing to open up the armed struggle."

Cerqueira, a slight, dark, intense man, had come to Toronto to meet sympathizers in the large Portuguese-Canadian community, to address some public meetings, to tell the truth about the circumstances surrounding Delgado's death, and to raise support for the Portuguese Front.

The international press said that Delgado went to Spain, where his mutilated body was found in an unmarked grave; to cross the frontier into Portugal. It said that the man who Salazar conceded in the 1958 presidential elections headed the polls in both Angola and Mozambique, and who claimed to have won in Portugal also, went to lead the insurrection against the oppressive and bloody regime.

Cerqueira said that this is not true. Behind Delgado's trip lay his failure to obtain the aid that he had been promised by Algeria, and the Communist Party's break from the Patriotic Front as the Front took the decision to prepare for the armed insurrection.

According to Cerqueira the CP immediately launched a campaign of slander and vilification against Delgado throughout the anti-Salazar forces — the CP went from a position of disagreement on the tasks of the anti-Salazar forces, to opposition, and, he said, to that of informing on revolutionaries to the Salazar police. At one point he

excitedly exclaimed that he had a photostatic copy of the clandestine CP press which published the names of two Lisbon leaders of the Frente Action Populaire (FAP) preparing to undertake some revolutionary action. Fortunately they escaped from the police.

The 36 year old Henrique Cerqueira has an extensive record as a revolutionist. At the age of 21 he returned to Angola where he had been raised as a child, to work as a surveyor. He had already been a member of the Democratic Unity Movement for four years. In 1951 he helped organize the overseas sector of the National Liberation Front and when Delgado became a presidential candidate he became his official representative in Angola. In 1960 he became a member of the Iberian Revolutionary Directorate of National Liberation.

He figured prominently in the plans that were to have been initiated by General Galvao's dramatic seizure of the luxury liner Santa Maria. Cerqueira and his group moved out to prepare the struggle that was to have been launched with the arrival of the Santa Maria in Angola. When Galvao pulled back and took it to Brazil, he and many other revolutionists were arrested and imprisoned. After a 6 month imprisonment he was deported to Portugal and confined to Lisbon under police surveillance. With the collapse of the 1963 revolt in Beja, led by Captain Varela Gomez, which was to have been coordinated with a struggle in Lisbon, he was forced to flee to Morocco. From there he went to Algeria where he joined Delgado.

Cerqueira was collaborating with Delgado when in February 1964 he fused his National Liberation Front with the Patriotic Front, under the influence of what he calls the "classical" (Moscow influenced — Editor) Communist Party, supposedly in agreement on the major tasks of the revolution. The new organization took on the name of Patriotic Front.

It was not long however before factional alignments appeared. At one point the CP bloc pressed Delgado to expel a group of supporters of the Marxist-Leninist FAP from the front and to harass some Trotskyists who Cerqueira said were supporting the Front. But Delgado refused to do so. In October 1964, when Delgado demanded that preparations be made to launch the armed struggle, the split with the CP came.

According to Cerqueira, when the CP used its connections to launch its attack against Delgado, the Algerian government, apparently not wishing to get involved, pulled back on its promises and Delgado was unable to train the Portuguese that he wanted for underground work. That December Delgado went to Paris and London in order to reconstitute the front along revolutionary lines. He was denounced to the British police by those who knew he was travelling on a forged passport. In order to counteract the slander campaign of the CP and reconsolidate the insurrectionary forces, Delgado went into Portugal in February 1964. Cerqueira says that his experiences have shown him that the CP is counter-revolutionary and, if it weren't actually opposing the armed struggle, the Salazar regime is so rotten that it would collapse of its own accord.

In his last trip Delgado was not going into Portugal but to the frontier to meet some army men who, word had come out to Paris, were interested in aiding Delgado. They were said to be officers in Salazar's Angolan counter-insurgency forces and were offering to train Delgado's volunteers.

Cerqueira and his associates feared a trap and appealed to Delgado not to go. Delgado felt compelled to go but nonetheless turned over all of the Front's documents to Cerqueira to carry on, should his worst fears materialize. Cerqueira expressed confidence in the capacity of the Frente Portuguesa de Libertacao Nacional, despite the loss of its leader, to play a leading role in the struggle. While its headquarters is in Mor-

occo, two thirds of its leadership are now in Portugal. "Soon," he said, "we will be opening up the armed struggle. It will commence with an operation of significant scope, sufficient to show the people what has to be done, to show them that the struggle has begun. As the people respond the actions will become more frequent. Then," he said, "we will carry the armed struggle onto a national scale."

Franco hopes to head off the struggle in Spain with modest concessions. He will not succeed, according to Cerqueira. "At any rate the conditions are much more favorable in Portugal. The speed with which the revolution will develop will not allow Salazar to find his feet."

Cerqueira doubted that Salazar's allies in NATO would intervene against the struggle. If they were to do so, he said, he was certain that it would lead to a revolt in the colonies. By the end of 1963 more than 200 army officers were imprisoned because of their opposition to the bloody suppression of the Angolese people. Troops that go there are immediately deprived of their arms when they return. Only guards in Portugal have ammunition for their weapons; there is none in any barracks in Portugal. Portuguese in the colonies are forced to fight, for one in every five soldiers is a Salazar police agent. While no widespread dissatisfaction has taken place amongst Portuguese in Angola it has in Guinea where the revolutionists under the leadership of Cabral and the African Party of Independence of Guinea, have proven capable of making effective appeals.

How will the revolution develop? What will replace the fascist Salazar regime? What social-economic relations will replace the feudal-capitalist relations under Salazar? In a few words, will Portugal take the Socialist path, the path of the permanent revolution, as Cuba, which, with the overthrow of Batista, moved forward to eliminate capitalism and establish a worker's state?

Cerqueira expressed strong sympathy for Cuba but the main issue, he said, is the armed insurrection, which the Front advocates and is preparing. With the overthrow of Salazar the road that the Front will take is that of Delgado, that is, the road that will satisfy the needs of the people, the exploited, the enslaved. The front, he emphasized, will lead where the people want—to establish government for the people, of the people and by the people.



# Urges Labor to "Raise Hell Over Vietnam"

By Paul Kane

EC trade union leaders' identification with this year's Hiroshima Day Memorial, held at the Canadian-U.S. border south of Vancouver, is a welcome development.

Canadian labor as a whole has failed to speak up against U.S. aggression in Vietnam with its over-present threat of escalation into a nuclear war and the destruction of all that man has achieved.

E. P. O'Neil, secretary treasurer of the B.C. Federation of Labor (CIC-AFL-CIO), was a sponsor, and John McNiven, a staff member of the Federation, chaired the rally. It was not content to mourn for those who died when President Truman ordered the dropping of the H Bomb on Hiroshima, but protested the murder of the people of Vietnam by the U.S. military machine.

McNiven said that the federation was proud to identify itself with the opposition to the Vietnam war and told trade unionists from both sides of the border that they had the responsibility to "raise hell over Vietnam" in their trade union locals.

Labor has been smeared with the brush of support of President Johnson's criminal policies in Vietnam. This is due in large part to the highly publicized position of craven support expressed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, headed up by George Meany. The views of trade unionists in other countries, even those associated with the International Confederation of Free Trade (ICFTO), have been suppressed. But important sectors of world labor are opposing U.S. policies.

The giant 4,200,000 member General Council of Japan Trade Unions (SOHYO) has pledged itself to an "all-out fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam." The confederation, at its August 4 convention in Tokyo, charged the Japanese government with supporting the "unlawful U.S. aggression in Vietnam." Its secretary general announced that

SOHYO is planning to dispatch "international organizers" shortly to Afro-Asian and Latin American countries to help solidify sentiment opposed to the war in Vietnam.

With the full support of SOHYO, Japanese seamen have for sometime been boycotting ships carrying military supplies to South Vietnam. The Japanese Seamen's Union has now signed an agreement with eight major shipping companies under which union crews will not sail ships to North Vietnam or ships with military cargoes bound for South Vietnam.

Australian dockworkers have expressed their opposition to the war in Vietnam and the commitment of Australian troops there

by the Menzies government in an effective way. Last June 6 the Waterside Workers Federation struck 180 ships. Several thousand more dockers struck again on June 19 when the Industrial Court levied a heavy fine against the Federation.

The recent annual conference of the Transport and General Workers Union, the largest union in England, called on Harold Wilson's government, which has condoned Johnson's actions, "to disassociate itself from American policy."

Opposition has begun to crop up in U.S. labor circles. Several independent U.S. unions, such as the United Electrical Workers Union and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,

have passed resolutions sharply critical of U.S. policy — the latter at its international convention held in Vancouver.

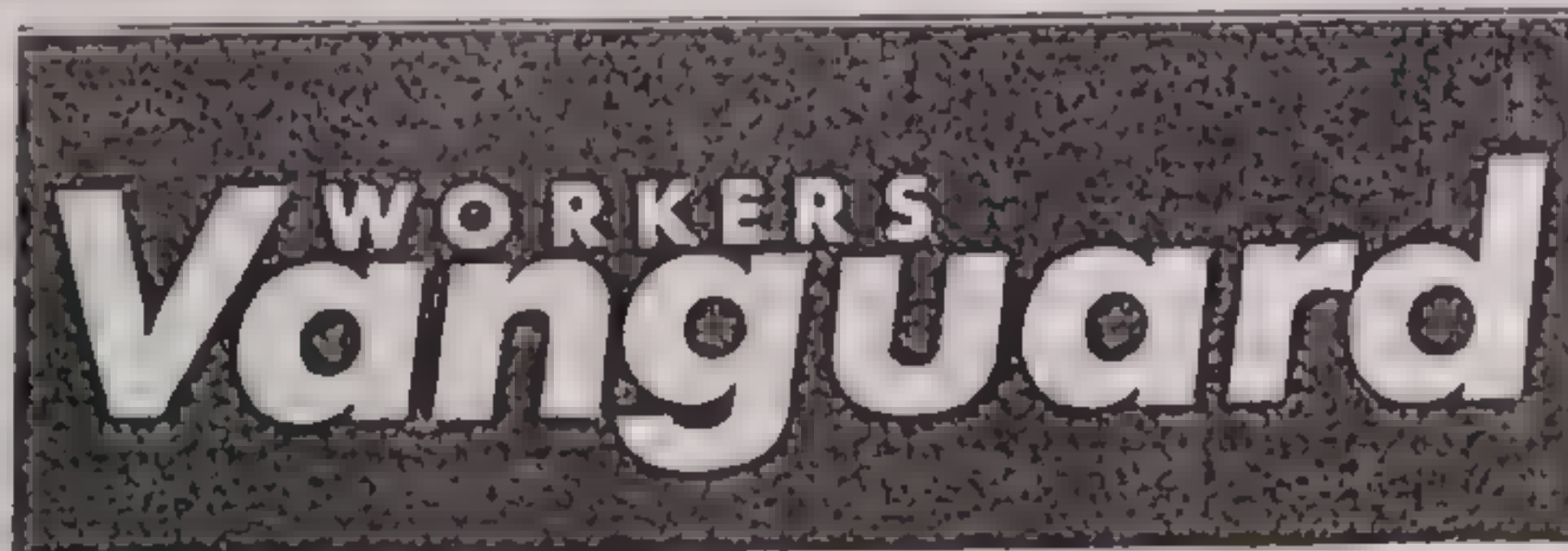
The New York Joint board of the Fur Leather and Machine Workers Union sponsored a debate on Vietnam on June 22. Workers packed a hall to hear a professor debate a State Department representative.

It's time for Canadian labor to speak up. The Pearson government has not only servilely supported Johnson. As a member of the International Control Commission it has deliberately covered up U.S. violations of the Geneva Accords. On top of that it has cynically intervened in the struggle against the National Liberation Front by tripling its "civil"

aid to the U.S. military puppets in South Vietnam, over the past year.

The Canadian labor movement has a special responsibility to voice its opposition to U.S. policy. Because of its strong fraternal ties with the U.S. labor movement it can seriously expect to strengthen those forces to the south that are fighting to get a hearing. And it is this opposition that can most effectively hit the State Department where it hurts.

Let every unionist, every local, every labor council and every convention "raise hell over Vietnam." Demand that the bombing of North Vietnam cease, and that U.S. troops be withdrawn so that the people of Vietnam can freely decide their own future.



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## Postal Strike Marks Labor Breakthrough

By P. Kent

The great postal workers strike, which tied up the mails in 94 major centers of Ontario, Quebec and B.C., and extended into 18 days in Montreal, ended on August 7. But it has set off a series of actions and reactions that are echoing through the ranks of the Canadian working class and will continue to do so for many years to come.

It has already had such impact that the usually staid, routine triennial convention of Civil Service Federations of Canada has just approved of a motion urging all member groups to join the ranks of the organized labor movement, the Canadian Labor Congress (AFL-CIO). This motion was a revision of an original motion to carry out immediate mass affirmation of the entire 80,000 member body. It marks a decisive breakthrough for the unionization of thousands of white collar workers. The delegates were assured

ed to oppose any government legislation that would deny civil servants the right to strike.

All this and much more to come is the result of the strike sparked by the ranks of the letter carriers, declared illegal by the national leadership of the Canadian Postal Employees Association, and fought at every turn by their counterparts in the local leaderships.

The government acted to preserve this block of low paid workers as a pressure instrument against the rest of the working class in the classic manner of a union-busting monopolist. It stood firm behind its original grant of 300 dollars. Revenue Minister Benson even stated that this miserable concession to the \$660 demand of the workers "was higher than statistical data could justify." Government spokesmen, including the PM himself, switched back and forth from sweet talk to the most extreme actions.

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by Revenue Minister Benson that the government, which has heretofore arrogantly refused to recognize, to bargain with civil servants organizations, is going to very shortly provide collective bargaining rights. In a complete reversal of all previous no-strike commitments, the federation vot-

They obtained injunctions prohibiting picketing in Vancouver and drastically limiting it in Montreal. They threatened to pass legislation outlawing strikes in the civil service and to institute mass firings under a seven days absence rule. Finally they mobilized some 50 troops and 1,300 non-union part-time workers as a threat to the Montreal hold-out.

As the ranks held firm, the government agreed to appoint a federal conciliator with a promise of a substantial increase over the \$300. The national leadership grasp this, and with the solid backing of the CLC leadership, hoping to regain command over the ranks, pressed for a return to work.

With Vancouver tricked back through a marginal vote, and Montreal intransigent, the leadership concentrated their fire on Toronto. Threatening to cut off the letter carriers from the inside workers they forced through a reversal of a decisive vote to remain out, taken only the day previous.

The Toronto reversal turned the national tide. But it failed to dampen the militancy of the Montreal strikers. Their leadership denounced the national leadership as "scabs", and, with the support of the Québec Federation of Labor, reaffirmed the demand for \$660. At the same time as it threatened to smash the strike, the government came forward with a face saving formula, masterminded by CLC president Jodoin, whereby a week ahead of schedule, it granted an increase of \$510 to \$550 annually.

Having succeeded in forcing the government to almost double its increase, Montreal went back with the rest of the postal workers.

With the experience of this strike under their belts the postal workers are now moving in to consolidate their gains and establish those who rose out of their ranks, into the positions of leadership of their unions.

## Meaning of the Explosion of the Los Angeles Ghetto

By The Editors

What is the true significance of the mighty explosion which burst out in the Negro Ghetto and rocked the city of Los Angeles for nearly a week?

Of course it wasn't a reaction to the hot weather that somehow got out of hand. But was it the work of hoodlun elements among the Negro population in a super-depressed area of one of America's largest cities? Or was it due to civil rights leaders "agitating" the Negro population as the chief of police claimed?

Its scope alone has something to say on its significance. Thirty four persons were killed, 31 of them Negro. Almost a thousand were injured and nearly 4,000 were jailed or released on bail. Damage has been estimated at over 100 million dollars.

There is little doubt that almost all the injured or jailed were Negro. Newspapers appearing in the daily press depicted a massive brutal repression in which it was apparent any Negro in sight of police or National Guardsmen faced instant death.

A psychiatrist assigned to Watts by the county mental health department said those involved feel no remorse. "They look upon it as a revolt, rather than a riot." And that is just what it was — a revolt, elemental, revolutionary, in opposition to the unendurable white racist oppression that some 22 million Black Americans suffer.

One National Guard official exclaimed, "It's like Vietnam." And it was like Vietnam in more ways than one. In the Black Ghetto of Watts the people reacted like an oppressed colonial people in revolt.

The official civil rights leaders just weren't there — they stood on the outside of the whole struggle, where they didn't in reality stand on the side of the white power structure. Martin Luther King, on arriving at Los Angeles, declared that "I think the trouble is that there is no vibrant nonviolent program afoot in Los Angeles." And he meant among the oppressed Negroes, not the police.

The Watts rebellion was unorganized, leaderless, spontaneous, and had no program. It was the product of conditions that exist right across the country — and there will be more.

As Malcolm X said shortly before his death: "The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this system, period. It's impossible for this system as it stands to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country."

But future upheavals will not continue to be leaderless and programless. In the process of new struggles that are certain to come the required revolutionary leaders will emerge to channelize and develop the explosive forces in the Black Ghetto into an organized struggle to abolish racism and bring freedom, justice and equality for all.

The American imperialist colossus has impressed many with its apparent ability to move out from a secure base at home and enforce its will against the interests of the peoples of the entire world. But as the revolt in Los Angeles shows, it is seated on a veritable powder-keg.



Workers' Vanguard #111 Mid-Aug. 1965

## A NEW BREAK TO UNITY OF UNI. NDP?

By Ross Dowson

If there were still any lingering doubts, the editors of the Ontario New Democrat have now made it unmistakably clear just what is and what is not, in their opinion, the main task confronting the party in this election year.

In the June issue they relegated T. C. Douglas' speech to the house of commons condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam to page seven. Douglas had pointed out that the situation there "could escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth." But, regardless, that is not the issue. The policy of the editors is, don't commit the party, don't get identified, just make the record — on page 7.

Now, with the August issue, after covering pages one and two with appeals for money, which is all that is needed of the ranks since the party leadership has worked out all the other formulae for success, they turn over the entirety of page three to a special report: It is streamer headlined—Canada's screwball left—the Trotskyites.

We can only conclude from this unsigned article that one of the primary tasks, if not the primary task before the party now, is to come to grips with the Socialist Caucus that appeared as an organized force at the recent NDP federal convention. That is where the question of Trotskyism comes in, for, according to this article, the caucus is in reality only the "most recent Trotskyite device to capture genuine New Democrats ..."

M. J. Coldwell celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the CCF, which he was burying along with its socialist-oriented Regina Manifesto in order to clear the way for the NDP, by characterizing the Toronto delegates to the 1933 convention as being in reality Trotskyists. Today the editors of the Ontario New Democrat inadvertently commemorate the 25th anniversary of Leon Trotsky's assassination by Stalin's agents, by invoking his name in their attack on the

socialist opposition to their liberal-reformist policies.

Of course it is not an honest attempt to evaluate the ideas of Trotsky, the greatest exponent of Marxism in our times, just as no attempt of any kind whatsoever is made to evaluate the views of the spokesmen of the Socialist Caucus, or the extensive programmatic statement they drew up and circulated amongst the delegates.

In fact no mention of any kind is made of the views of the Socialist Caucus. It is considered sufficient to identify it, to equate it with the League for Socialist Action, to fabricate out of the whole cloth a nightmarish version of Trotskyism, and issue a dire warning to the party rank and file: "Radicals who wish to get one of their planks adopted by the Party convention depend on having their proposals heard in the spirit of mutual tolerance. The presence of Trotskyites ... makes this impossible."

At a time when ever-widening layers of intellectuals, working class leaders and militants are investigating and evaluating the relevancy of the contribution of Leon Trotsky which spanned the period of two world wars and dealt with the key issues of our times, the New Democrat dismisses the whole question with facetious comments that Trotsky was involved in a personal struggle with Stalin "over control of the Soviet Union," and that the differences in Marxist theory "were small."

Having with these few words dealt with the political principles of Trotskyism, they hurriedly get into the juicy part of the question — the motives of the LSA.

The Trotskyists, they say, are out "to control" the NDP. And since it is decreed that there is no hope whatever of their being able to do that, "they have set out to destroy it."

Having declared that to be the aim of the Trotskyists, the author attempts to supply his version of what he calls "ingenious theories" devised to realize this aim.

The axioms are so festooned with side comments of a crude, vulgar character that not only is it difficult for the reader to grasp them—it seems to us that the author has ended up by deceiving himself. For, cleaned up a bit, the theories would seem to us to have an obviously substantial basis in experience — and in the NDP too.

Put simply — the Trotskyists hold to the opinion that "there is steady conflict" between the leadership of the NDP and the rank and file. Of course the LSA sees a recurring conflict between the leadership of the NDP and the ranks, as it does between the trade union leadership and the union rank and file. The truth of this is obvious on the trade union plane — in the recent wave of wild-cat strikes and recurring incidents where the union membership has decisively rejected settlement offers pressed by the leadership.

This conflict is rooted in the fact that there has grown up on top of the union movement a privileged layer which has become increasingly removed from the ranks, not only in income and experience, but in social outlook. It sees itself as a buffer between "antagonistic" and "unreasonable" forces, and its main task, as Trotsky pointed out, to contend with the monopolists for control over the state, and pull it over to its side. This leadership is essentially reformist, as is the Douglas-Lewis leadership of the NDP.

No Trotskyist has indulged "in personal attacks against individual NDP leaders" or ever spread stories at high schools or anywhere else that the NDP is "controlled by the 'reactionary trade unions'."

When the reformist trade union bureaucracy fused with the reformist CCF leadership to widen the scope of independent labor political action in Canada, we enthusiastically endorsed it. One of the major tasks now, in our opinion, is for the union ranks to move into the NDP and take it over.

What are the "principles" of

the NDP that the New Democrat declares we disagree with? Are the present positions defined by convention sacrosanct? The parliamentary leadership can scarcely claim that, for the record shows that they have violated convention decisions both by commission and omission. We stand firmly on the first principle of the party — that the working people of this country need a political party of their own which must take the political power in order to organize the wealth of the country in the interests of mankind.

We like to think that questions such as public ownership of key industries are still matters of debate in the NDP, and not occasions for the leadership to denounce proponents of "such views as 'screwballs.'" We like to think that minority opinion on such matters as French-Canada, the shorter work-week, is guaranteed a proper hearing.

We refuse to accept any bans on these ideas in the unions, the NDP or anywhere else. And should bans and decrees be implemented, we refuse to accede to them and will adopt the necessary forms of struggle to overcome them.

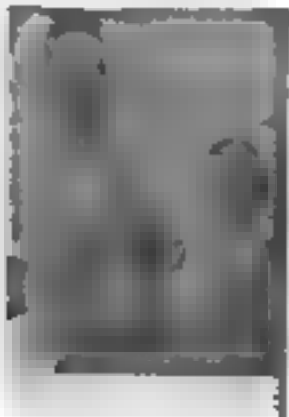
There is nothing secret or conspiratorial about the LSA. It is idle for the New Democrat to decry that members and associates of the LSA do not proclaim this fact, when both the Ontario and BC leadership have autocratically decreed the LSA to be an opponent political party and those associated with it subject to automatic, immediate expulsion. Just as idle for a union-baiting boss to protest that a worker trying to organize a union works in secret.

The League for Socialist Action has remained unflinching in the face of bans and proscriptions — and has grown in influence. We know that all those associated with the Socialist Caucus, despite this latest redbaiting attack, will remain steadfast in their struggle to win the New Democratic Party to socialism, confident in the correctness of their course.



# STUDENT WORK TOUR OF CUBA

800 811 1400 720 1400  
800 811 1400 720 1400





# All Out for NDP Victory on November 8th

By P. Kent

The Liberal Party, headed up by Lester B. Pearson, has called an election at a time when the largest single bloc of the electors, an estimated one-third, are disillusioned with the major parties, and to some degree with the parliamentary process itself.

This disillusionment has been expressed over the past several years by the sharp swing away from the Liberals, after two decades of rule, to the Diefenbaker-led Progressive Conservatives — and back again to a Liberal minority government.

Large layers of the Canadian people have come to understand that there is no basic difference between the two old line parties.

The New Democratic Party, launched just four years ago when the forces of the CCF fused with key sectors of the organized labor movement, has an opportunity to not only extend its base of support and elect a considerable number of members to parliament. It has the possibility of actually taking the power. To do so it will be required to give genuine leadership — to answer in a clear and forthright manner the key questions puzzling the Canadian people. It will be required to project itself as a real alternative.

The NDP has already built up a considerable basis of support, particularly in B.C., Saskatchewan, and in key urban areas across the country. This election it will have the largest accumulation of funds

that it has ever had to fight a campaign.

Wide layers of the electorate already understand that the Liberals and the Tory party, along with its alter ego Social Credit, are parties of the Big business interests, of the capitalist class.

They are both anti-labor. They seek to hamstring the trade unions, to render them ineffective as instruments to defend and extend the interests of the working people, not only through the maintenance of laws and regulations they have already placed on the books, but through the imposition of new ones.

Both parties are opposed to even the minimal social legislation necessary to protect the working population from the worst aspects of the capitalist system they sustain. Only three years ago the Liberals smashed the medicare plan initiated by the CCF in Saskatchewan. The cautious ventures they are now taking into this area are designed primarily to head off a genuine medicare plan, to protect the investments of the insurance corporations and the vested interests of the hospital and medical hierarchy. With the Liberals and Tories the profits of investors and speculators in commercial, industrial, and apartment buildings, have priority over the working people whose needs can only be met through subsidized low cost housing.

Hundreds of thousands of farmers their operations now marginal,

are being sacrificed to the profit-hungry farm implement trusts and packinghouse bosses. Today, as they did decades before, the Liberals and Tories continue to turn the natural resources of the country over to the Robber Barons, to the oil trusts, the logging bosses, and the mining moguls, who are looting them and wreaking damage for which future generations will pay dearly.

Instead of aligning Canada with the forces for world peace and the popular struggles for national

liberation, both parties have committed us to the cold war U.S.-dominated military alliances of NATO and NORAD. They have nuclear armed Canada and right now have thrust us behind Washington's murderous attempts to crush the freedom struggle of the Vietnamese people, threatening the nuclear destruction of all mankind.

Canada certainly needs leadership. The NDP has the opportunity to present itself as the alternative to those now in the top

posts of the NDP, instead of alternative to the old line parties. But vancing policies that would achieve this — over the past few years have been consistently moving in the opposite direction.

Rather than project the party as a force for fundamental change, in the direction of public ownership of the vast productive forces that the people have built up, in the direction of organizing and planning the economy in the interests of the people, the present NDP leadership has followed a policy of adaptation and conformism. They have not taken a forthright stand for the full recognition of the rights of the French Canadian nation, within or without confederation, as they see fit. Often when their vague moral preachments are translated into program they amount to at most a modest conglomeration of reforms which the Liberals and Tories assimilate as their own.

(See Page 4 — NDP)

## NDP Victory

(Continued from Page 1)

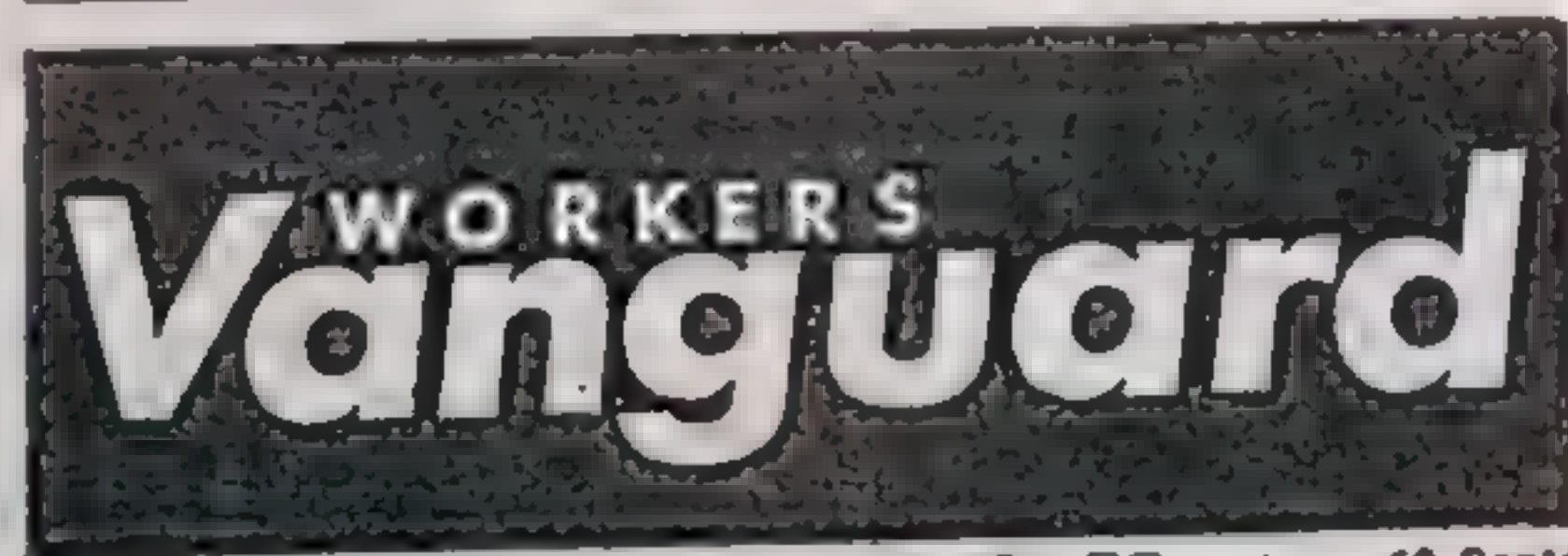
But important forces which see the need for Canada's labor party to pose a clear alternative policy, already exist in the NDP. This summer's NDP federal convention saw the formation of a Socialist Caucus. Based as it is on the trade unions, and compelled to seek the support of the working class, the NDP is particularly sensitive to forces that inevitably tend to press in that direction.

This election is a challenge to the NDP. Is it to continue along the course of liberal reformism that the present leadership is taking it? Or will it rise to the occasion, to the opportunity and the need that presents itself, and move out to project an alternative program to the parties of capital, in the direction of socialism.

At the same time as this election is a challenge to the NDP — it is a challenge to the people of Canada. In the process of the election they can press the party's spokesmen to speak out with a clear and incisive voice on the key issues of our time. They can widen the popular base of the movement, they can join it and build it into a broad and genuinely democratic movement where all views are freely heard and the best ideas can gather around themselves appropriate forces that will assure that they prevail.

A massive vote behind the NDP would symbolize a mighty protest against the situation as it is. There is no doubt that the NDP can tremendously strengthen its base. This election the NDP can form the government.

That is why it is necessary for every working man and woman to work for, to vote for, the NDP. It is not a matter of any specific programmatic shortcoming of the party, or the unworthiness of this or that candidate. A mighty vote behind the NDP will be the portent of the future — the socialist future of Canada, in a socialist world of peace and plenty.



Vol. 10, No. 4 (112) Mid-September, 1965 — Toronto — 10 Cents

### NDP Against Boss Parties





## Communist Party Gets in Behind

# PHONEY MINORITY GOV'T. PLEA

By P. Kent

The Liberals declare that the big issue confronting the electorate is to put a majority government into office on November 8—namely themselves. The Progressive Conservatives agree, but with one modest difference—that the majority government be Tory.

According to the Communist Party the crucial task is to "defeat the attempts of the old line parties to establish a majority government." According to the League for Socialist Action, the issue is to elect an NDP government into office.

An NDP government is a theoretical possibility. Last election the NDP polled over a million votes, and more votes than either the Liberals or the Tories in many key areas. This election it is fielding a sufficient number of candidates to form a government. An NDP government is a practical possibility too, for as NDP leader Douglas points out, an unprecedented portion of the electorate are showing their disillusionment with the old line parties—36% remain uncommitted.

None of the various CP statements explain why, in the face of such a situation, it sets the Canadian people the modest task of blocking the boss parties from forming a majority government. Nor do they explain why, since there is no important difference between the Liberals and Tories it is a matter of any real concern whether together they constitute a majority over the NDP, or, whether one or the other has an overall majority in its own name.

Even if the case could be made that the CP program is superior, at least in some respects, to that of the NDP, and given a choice it would be preferable to vote CP—how should we cast our ballots where there is no CP candidate? Nowhere does the CP give the simple and straightforward answer—vote NDP.

On the contrary, the CP talks of the election of a "progressive bloc" of M.P.'s, of the "election to parliament of a large progressive group, of which the CP is part," but no mention that the group would form around the NDP, or even contain NDP M.P.'s.

What then does the formula "defeat attempts of the old line parties to re-establish a majority government" mean in real life?

It allows the CP, on the grounds of guesstimations of election trends, to support this or that Tory or Liberal who, on the basis of odd remarks, might be designated "progressive". With the polls predicting a Liberal sweep in Quebec this would mean vote Tory or Socred where they have a chance against the Liberal.

This is the theory of "peaceful co-existence" as applied to the Canadian scene—according to which "realism" forbids bothering about the NDP. The major task, accordingly, is to impede American imperialism in its military adventures by preventing either old line party, though both, separately and together, support U.S. aggression in Vietnam to the hilt, from forming a majority government.

It was this theory that led the CP last election to support the Diefenbaker-led Tories, where it thought they could be elected, for their demagogic anti-Americanism and pseudo-opposition to nuclear arms. It caused the Canadian CP to identify with its U.S.

counterpart in its support of Lyndon B. Johnson, in order to block Goldwater from acting in Vietnam the way Johnson himself is now acting. And of course there was John F. Kennedy before that—until his "betrayal" at the Bay of Pigs, the missile crisis, and the blockade of Cuba.

#112 Mid-Sept. 1965

## THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,  
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

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#112 - Sept. 1965 Editorial

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# Ottawa's Guilt In Vietnam

Mr. Pearson ridicules Social Credit Rally leader Caouette's claim that the Liberals seek a majority in the coming election to enact legislation which would send 100,000 Canadians to serve in Washington's dirty war in Vietnam. The accusation is absurd, wildly inaccurate — "There is not a word of truth in any reference to military aid," he says.

Mr. Pearson, of course, doesn't need an absolute majority of Liberals in the commons for such legislation, because Mr. Diefenbaker and his bloc of Tory M.P.'s have underwritten all of Mr. Pearson's actions and words on Vietnam one hundred per cent — and the same goes for Mr. Thompson. Yet there is considerable substance behind Mr. Caouette's charge.

There is a general feeling of unease right across the country — a suspicion that Mr. Pearson and his entourage are prepared to do even more than they have already done to tie Canada behind Washington's murder-machine in Vietnam. If there were no other reasons — and there are a great many more now, since Mr. Pearson riddled his guise as a man of peace by suddenly reversing himself to bring nuclear arms onto Canadian soil — we have the incident of that letter from Lyndon B. Johnson himself.

Mr. Pearson interpreted the U.S. president's July 26 note as a request for "token military support" from Canada such as the Australian and New Zealand governments have committed to Vietnam. But his Minister of External Affairs, the Hon. Paul Martin, firmly denied it. Mr. Johnson, with or without Ottawa's approval, has suppressed the letter. And so we have the Canadian people in the midst of elections to decide who is going to sit in parliament, hurtling along the path which Mr. Pearson, with Mr. Diefenbaker's approval, has secretly committed us to.

The sheer monstrousness of the crimes being committed by the U.S. has tended to beggar into insignificance the role of the Canadian government and its loyal opposition, and make it appear not so horrifying.

Mr. Pearson has been attacked for following a policy of "supine subservience" to the U.S. Correctly so. That is criminal enough — but his policy has been much more active than that. He has done more than acquiesce. He has been more than subservient. He has cleared the way, he has fronted for the U.S. State Department. He has acted, and continues to act, the scandalous role of procurer — that has led to the savage violation of an entire people.

When the Geneva Accords were signed by the big powers, to snatch the victory that following Dienbenphu was within the grasp of the Vietnamese freedom fighters, Canada entered the scene. It was appointed to the three-man Control Commission. Everyone recognizes that Poland was to represent the North, formed by the truncation of Vietnam, India was cast in the role of neutral. Who did Canada represent — other than American Imperialist interests which had moved in quickly to take over what the French had been compelled to drop.

Under the terms of the accords Canada was to see that there was no outside interference in Vietnamese affairs, to prepare the grounds for elections in 1956. As the U.S. moved in openly and took over — the Canadian Commissioner saw nothing. When, through their puppet Diem, they blocked the promised elections, not a word was said.

As the U.S. deepened its intervention, its advisory personnel becoming combatants, to be supplemented by tens and now hundreds of thousands more, its bombers making massive raids across the 17th parallel and beyond, right up to the Chinese border, Canada's Commissioner talked of violations — not by the U.S. but by Vietnamese and by China. And Canada presented a White Paper to world public opinion — as cynical and as lying as anything that has come from the State Department.

As humiliating and as compromising as it is to be a front for

American imperialism, to cover up one criminal deed after another, Mr. Martin sees this role as not yet being exhausted. He has advised Mr. Johnson that were Canada to send troops, even token numbers, its role as his honest broker, through its post on the International Truce Supervisory Commission, would be quickly terminated. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Johnson is agreeable to the continuation of this farce.

In the meantime Canada has made other not unimportant gestures of support to the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon. In 1963-64 Ottawa was giving what is called "civil aid" to the Saigon cutthroats to the tune of \$400,000 — a small though significant gesture — which it tripled in 1964-65. It seems certain that should either the Liberals or Tories be returned to office this type of aid will be increased substantially. When he responded to Caouette's charge, Mr. Pearson limited his denial to "military aid."

But isn't Canada already giving military aid? On September 25 an Associated Press dispatch from Washington reported that 18 Caribou transport planes island-hopped into South Vietnam. This plane is noted for its capacity to carry bulk loads — napalm? munitions? — and to land in confined areas — such as jungle clearings. The Caribou is made in Canada at the Toronto DeHavilland plant.

To be sure, with the vast resources at its disposal, its direct intervention, and full employment of the most savage weapons of destruction, the U.S. is the main enemy of the Vietnamese people — and with the danger of further escalation into nuclear war, the main enemy of the peoples of the entire world. It is necessary to mobilize every possible opposition to American imperialism.

But it is doubtful that a vast, popular, and really effective opposition can be mobilized in this country, against the government in another country. Besides there is the enemy at home, real and substantial, though less overt, more hypocritical, no less venal. Make no mistake about it Washington needs the support of its NATO allies, all the more that the opposition to its policies is developing from New York to San Francisco.

The Liberals and Tories are now before the electorate of this country. For us this election poses a real alternative, the possibility of a completely new foreign policy through the election of the NDP to power. But no anti-Vietnam war forces, no opponents of the U.S. war, can fail to seize this opportunity, to face up to the responsibility of intervening in this situation, and acquainting the people of Canada with the facts on the criminal role of both the Liberals and Tories in the horrifying and ominous situation in Vietnam.



# THE ELECTION ISSUES

## Canadian Complicity in the War in Vietnam

The Pearson government completely underwrites the U.S. genocidal war in Vietnam and its puppet regimes in Saigon. Over the past year it has increased its aid to this gang of cut-throats threefold and is supplying Made In Canada Caribou cargo planes. Canadian authorities announced in Saigon last month an agreement to train and equip a mounted detachment for the venal Saigon police—the same who recently ripped participants out of a peaceful demonstration and murdered them.

The Liberal government considered last July, and is still considering, the sending of Canadian forces to aid the U.S. murder machine. Mr. Pearson admitted it then, and now Finance Minister Walter Gordon has affirmed it. They have not sent Canadian troops in, but from Mr. Gordon's comments it is clear that, given proper circumstances, perhaps just the cover of UN shoulder flashes, the Liberals would do so—if returned to office. Mr. Diefenbaker and the Progressive Conservatives are 100% in support of Liberal government policy.

The NDP, through a statement of T. C. Douglas in the commons last May, and a resolution passed by its recent federal convention, condemns the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and repudiates the Liberal government's "supine subservience" to the U.S.

Recent events such as the University of Toronto Teach-in, focused on Vietnam, the spontaneous protests at election meetings, but above all the October 16 demonstrations involving thou-

sands across Canada protesting against the war in Vietnam, have brought this question to the fore where it belongs. Some NDP candidates, though still all too hesitantly, are now speaking up against Liberal government support of Washington's role in Vietnam.

Only by working for and voting for an NDP victory in this election can you register your opposition to the war in Vietnam, with its ever present danger of escalation into a nuclear holocaust, and Canada's complicity.

A vote for the NDP is a vote for Canadian recognition of the Peoples Republic of China, opposed both by the Liberals and the Tories—and a vote for the seat-

ing of China at the United Nations. It is a vote against Canada joining the Organization of American States—so clearly exposed in the rape of the peoples of the Dominican Republic as an instrument designed to keep Latin America in chains for U.S. investment houses.

Canada needs a foreign policy that breaks it from the commitments made by the round of Liberal-Tory and Liberal governments; commitments that have rendered it into a servile appendage of the cold-war policies of the U.S. State Department. Canada should break from the military alliances of NATO and NORAD. It should identify itself through aid and trade with the efforts of the colonial peoples to overcome their age-old oppression and move forward to build a new society.

*Program to Page 2*

**WORKERS**  
**Vanguard**

Vol. 10, No. 5A (113) Mid-October, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

# VOTE NDP

### Canadian Labour Congress Appeal

It has been the view of the vast majority of delegates to Canadian Congress of Labor conventions that the NDP is the party which has a program in accord with the aims and aspirations of the Canadian labour movement . . . The formation of an NDP government, or strengthening of the NDP representation in the House of Commons, is the manner in which workers, in common with other voters, can best express their urgent desire for the adoption of such pending legislation as Medicare, the introduction of collective bargaining in the Civil Service and other important measures . . . It is the firm conviction of the Canadian Labour Congress that, under a New Democratic Government, Canada can rise to new heights of educational and cultural achievement, and that bonds of friendship and understanding can be forged that will unite the two founding races of our country . . . The CLC calls on those affiliates which may do so to support the NDP organizationally and financially. The CLC urges Canadian workers to use their November 8th vote in their own interest by supporting the NDP.—Excerpts from the CLC official statement.



Program from page 1

## Corruption In Government

Despite all of Mr. Pearson's protests that his own hands are spotless, it is an undeniable fact that he heads up a political machine that has been proven to be linked up with arsonists, gangland murderers, drug pushers and bankruptcy racketeers, whose influence is such as to have penetrated right up into the office of the Minister of Justice himself.

It is not surprising that capitalist politics corrupts its practitioners and attracts the criminal elements. For the system that it is shaped to preserve and extend is nothing but organized, ruthless, criminal exploitation of the accumulated wealth and the labor of the working people, by a handful of economic royalists. Canada's first prime minister, Tory Sir John A. MacDonald, who ushered in Confederation, was driven from office over his criminal relations with the railway barons. The history of Canadian politics ever since has been studded with scandals, including the infamous Beauharnois scandal involving the Liberal Party of the King era.

Because of its active member-

ship structure, its regular conventions determining policy, the fact that it is financed by rank and file donations and contributions from unions, and above all because of its social aims, an NDP government will be less prey to criminal pressures than the capitalist Liberal and Tory machines.

But rather than try to claim in unctuous and pious tones to be the sole possessor of all virtues, the NDP could more creditably appeal as a party of principle if it were to take on some of the crusading spirit of the old CCF. A commitment to not rest content until capitalism had been replaced with a new social order would attract the most dedicated, idealistic and incorruptible elements in Canadian society. Besides, we will only end corruption, and actions based on narrow and temporary self-interest, when we seriously commence to build a socialist society based on common ownership of the productive forces, where power will cease to be the prerogative of the few but will be disseminated throughout society.

## Medicare, Pensions, Education

Last year's recommendation by a Royal Commission that Ottawa legislate a national, compulsory, and universal health plan roused fierce opposition from the hierarchy of the Canadian Medical Association, the drug and hospital interests, and the insurance corporations. Since then various provincial governments have introduced their own plans—even Social Credit in Alberta—an irreconcilable opponent of Medicare. They have all been designed to preserve the vested interests in the doctor business. The much-touted Liberal plan is of the same general character and has the same aim. Strange to say the plan for which Mr. Pearson wants a mandate, remains still vague and undefined, but it is already clear that any province can opt-out and those opting-in need only have the "goal" of universality.

The NDP remains the only effective political force committed to implement a national compulsory and universal health plan. It did it in Saskatchewan, and if elected, is pledged to legislate a Canada-wide health plan.

The Pearson government's expressed concern for the plight of old age pensioners is loaded with

guile and hypocrisy. The NDP has pledged itself to raise the old age pension to \$100 a month. Even this amount—\$25 more than the present allowance—is far from adequate. The Metro Toronto Social Planning Board considers the bare minimum must be \$113 a month for a single woman and \$126 for a single man. But Mr. Pearson has vigorously opposed a \$25 a month increase. Rather than raise taxation on corporations he warns that such an increase would hoist the already inequitable income tax.

The Pearson government is of course strong for scrapping university fees—but only in the far distant future. In the meantime under a Liberal government or a Tory government higher education would remain the privilege of the wealthy.

When university students answer the call issued by the Canadian Union of Students to demonstrate in their thousands across the country for the elimination of university fees they will know that the only party committed to their cause is the NDP.

QUEBEC, PUBLIC OWNERSHIP  
AUTOMATION — NEXT ISSUE.



## ***Break the Totalitarian Grip of 985 Who Own Canada***

The Canadian people do not own, and therefore do not control Canada. We should! And this election should mark a big stride towards ending this monstrous denial of control over the most basic aspects of our lives.

Canada is now owned by 985 men, no women. They are extremely wealthy. But more important than their accumulated wealth is their control of the wealth-producing mechanisms. They hold 81% of the directorships in the dominant corporations, as well as 58% of the directorships in the 9 chartered banks, and 78% of those in the life insurance companies. Contrary to popular misconceptions there are only two Jewish bank directors. Only 6.7% of this economic elite are French-Canadian. The overwhelming majority are Canadian-born of British descent.

They got to where they are through no merit of their own. When you add to those who were born directly into their positions, those who went to private schools—over two-thirds of them started right at the top. Less than 8% arrived at their positions by being in business on their own account.

This small group of men make all the decisions related to the economic operations of the country which determine the basic conditions under which they and we other 19 million Canadians live. The motivation of their decisions is not the public good, but profit.

### **Liberals or Tories — Same Difference**

Of the 985 whose political views could be determined (of course they were all anti-NDP,) they were split fifty-fifty between the Liberals and Tories. Much is made of their financial contributions to the Liberal and Tory political machines but you can be sure they do not leave an important question such as how the country is to be ruled, to such chance.

They are indifferent as to which one of their two parties, the Liberals or the Progressive Conservatives, are in office. They control the economy and they determine the political decisions of governments—not through M.P.'s but through the cabinet, and their men who they see to it are inducted into the cabinet.

Forty percent of the 88 cabinet ministers between 1940-1960 had no previous experience in the political machinery of their party and entered cabinet during their first term of office. Nine of them had never even been in the house but stepped out of the board room right into the cabinet. One of them never faced the electorate—Walter McCutcheon of the powerful Argus Corporation, who Diefenbaker brought in from the Senate.

### **From Board Room To Cabinet**

One of those coopted, subsequently became Prime Minister—St. Laurent. At the time that Prime Minister King invited him to step into his cabinet from the board room of the mighty Metropolitan Life Insurance Company he had not even met him.

When the Liberal Prime Minister was settling the details for bringing Major-General La Fleche into his cabinet he did not even know his political affiliations. When LaFleche asked him if he would like to know, King records in his diary: "I said I would be interested if he cared to tell me."

Beneath a democratic facade spreads out a vast, highly organized system designed to preserve the stranglehold that 985 men have on the Canadian economy and Canadian life.

The working people cannot even begin to establish a genuinely democratic society until they organize their vast numbers into a political movement of their own to take the power. The key task will be to establish industrial democracy through public ownership of the key sectors of the economy. The election of an NDP government to power would be a giant stride in that direction.



## Why you Should Vote, Elect the NDP A Challenge & Response with Voters

Yes, many of the things that you stand for are good, but I'm not voting for you. You won't get elected and I'm not going to waste my vote.

• • •

Even if it could be accurately estimated that a certain NDP candidate is doomed to defeat, all votes not cast NDP are wasted votes. A Tory or Liberal vote, despite all the promises made to win it, is essentially a vote for the status quo—for things to continue on as they have been. But few persons are really satisfied with the circumstances of their own life, the conditions of their friends and neighbors, the situation in this country or abroad.

Often it is a matter of not grasping the possibilities for social betterment, thanks to the development of science and technology and the growing organization of the working class. Many who see the evils of job insecurity, poverty, war and the possibility of nuclear destruction, attribute them to some inherent weaknesses in man. In their feeling of helplessness they toss back and forth between Liberal and Tory. But all the main evils of our time have their source in the capitalist system which man is capable of replacing. A vote for the NDP is an expression that we can and will change society to suit our needs.

Even NDP votes that fail to elect NDP members into office are important and seriously noted by those in office. Should a Liberal or Tory government think of committing Canadian troops to Vietnam, for instance, it would naturally consider the number of votes that were cast for a party that identified itself with opposition to such a policy, and what the possible repercussions might be.

The NDP is a movement based on constituency organizations and political action committees in the shops. The support that it rallies in elections is capable of being effectively mobilized between elections.

I think that you have some good points but you're not going to get elected so I'm (1) supporting the Liberals to keep the Tories out, or, supporting the Tories to keep the Liberals out, or (2), supporting a policy to keep both the old line parties from getting an overall majority.

• • •

But there is no real difference between the Liberals or the Tories. We in Canada are not faced with the dubious task of attempting to assess which is the lesser of two evils. We have a choice of a qualitatively different character, a real alternative in the NDP.

The argument that a Liberal or Tory government in a minority position would be prepared to make far-reaching concessions in order to hold on in office might have some weight if it could be proved that there were far-reaching differences between them. The fact is that the Liberals were able to conduct a minority government for 2½ years without making any notable concessions. And there is no reason to think that in so far as the Tories were concerned they couldn't have continued to carry on indefinitely.

The boss parties have solved the most paralyzing of all minority positions — when each one was a minority — by the simple method of getting together in coalition. They did this for many years in B.C. to keep the CCF out of office, until a new formula for capitalist party rule could be worked out—under the guise of R. B. Bennett's Social Credit.

These arguments, and many others like them, are really so much double-talk devised to block the Canadian people from drawing the obvious conclusions from 53 years of Liberal, alternated with 41 years of Tory, rule, to prevent the necessary break, now well underway, from boss politics—onto the plane of independent labor political action—towards a workers and farmers government.

As the great American socialist Eugene V. Debs put it: "It is better to vote for what you want, and not get it—than to vote for what you don't want, and get it."

I'm not going to vote NDP. I'm not going to vote for anyone or any party. It's all a racket. Politics is the bunk; or, The NDP is no different, is not fundamentally different from the other political parties, and isn't worth voting for, even as a protest.

• • •

No one can escape politics. Even by personally opting-out you don't escape. Commitments are made, legislation passed, and enforced. And everyone is subjected to them whether he takes conscious forms of political action such as voting, or does not.

The boss political machines don't mind one bit if you abstain. In fact abstentionism, when the majority are still entrapped in Liberal-Tory politics, is a most positive action—it is acquiescence to the activities of those who are sustaining the status quo and what it threatens for the future.

The fact that ideologically the NDP represents a shift to the right from the old CCF, and that its program is neither socialist nor projects a socialist future, but is liberal-reformist, is fairly widely grasped. Those unaware of this have been made familiar by such columnists as Peter C. Newman who notes that the NDP, this election, is saying little, even when it has something to say, that differentiates it from the Liberal party—or the Tory party. The Workers Vanguard and the League for Social Action, have also noted this—but in order to fight it, and to win the NDP to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

The NDP marks an advance over the CCF in that through it the organized labor movement is more firmly committed to independent political action. No one who understands the need for the NDP to adopt a more militant program, and certainly no one who understands the need for Canada to go socialist, can stand aside. Not only must he work and vote NDP in order to strengthen it. But he must join it—for the NDP is the major arena of the struggle against liberal-reformism in the labor movement.



# Millionaires "Battle" Over Who To Pull Wool Over Eyes Of Working People

By Ross Dowson

"The Battle of the Millionaires," that is what the daily press calls the Liberal-Tory contest in York West — the maneuverings between Robert Winters and George Hogan for the votes of the people residing in that area.

Hogan is a motor tycoon. He is also secretary of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Association — the most powerful sector of the Tory political machine in the country.

Winters, for 9 years a cabinet member in the previous Liberal government, and assured another cabinet post if not succession to Lester B. Pearson as leader of a Liberal government, calls himself "one of the Bay Street boys." And that he most certainly is. He is chairman and president of the 200 million dollar Rio Algom Mines Limited, chairman of the British - Newfoundland Corporation, now tying up the strings on its deals with the Liberal Quebec and Newfoundland governments so it can go ahead with the strategic Churchill Falls hydro de-

velopment, vice-president and director of the Bank of Commerce, and at last count 18 other companies.

When he announced his willingness to switch the clothes of a business tycoon for those of a cabinet minister, Mr. Pearson welcomed him with the comment that all the time that he was not even an elected member of the house "he has remained one of my closest friends and advisors."

Tory leader John Diefenbaker, who is not above telling the truth if he thinks it can serve the interest of his and Hogan's political machine, told an audience of Manitoba farmers that Canadian agriculture is in the hands of a Bay Street Baron and a millionaire. The millionaire is Liberal Agriculture Minister Harry Hays. Trade and Commerce Minister Mitchell Sharp he scorned as a man "who learned his agriculture on the streets of Toronto"—Bay Street.

Mr. Diefenbaker said nothing about Senator McCutcheon—millionaire Wallace McCutcheon—who along with Senator Harry

Willis is in control of Tory purse strings from campaign headquarters in the Toronto Prudential Building, around the corner from Bay Street.

"I've got so many offices, I never know where I am," says Senator Willis, as he moves between the 11th floor headquarters, his 20th floor office as vice-president and director of Denison Mines, his 14th floor legal office, and his office at Caledon Mountain Estates Limited.

Men and women who work for a living have no interest in choosing which of two parties headed up by millionaires should form the government. If there could be any doubt on this score, that Bay Street farmer, Mitchell Sharp, made it clear when he told a nomination meeting that "the most important accomplishment of the Liberals in their 2½ years of office was the restoration of confidence in the country in the minds of business men at home and abroad . . ."

The Liberals and Tories are firmly committed to the maintenance of Big Business dictatorial control over the economy—with government serving as a handmaiden.

According to Winters the few welfare measures that the Liberals have reluctantly enacted, under popular pressure; "all of this . . . can be realized only through the operation of a healthy private enterprise economy . . ." Sharp echoes this view when he talks about government "encouragement of private enterprise"—a synonym for "free enterprise," both cover-names for ruthless exploitative capitalism. Winters further defined the Liberal-Tory concept of government as an agent for capital in his recent comment that: "It is only when big government takes place in fields which can be developed more advantageously by private enterprise and initiative that there can be serious criticism."

This is the bedrock question posed by this election. Whether we should continue with Liberal and Tory governments designed to serve Big Business, or elect a labor government into Ottawa on November 8.



The Toronto Teach-In, held over last holiday weekend, was attended by 6,000 people. An estimated one million listened in via radio and TV hookup. In contrast to U.S. teach-ins which have been of a protest-against-the-war character, its U of T staff sponsors sought to keep it strictly academic. But testifying to the mounting concern over the U.S. war in Vietnam, and Canadian complicity, it ended, after three days of discussions by international figures, with a high content of protest.



# Teamsters in Leadership Fight To Win 40 hr. Week from Bosses

By P. Kent

Toronto and area Teamsters are waging what is probably the most notable of the rank and file revolts that have been spreading through auto, steel and other unions, on a widening scale over

the past six months. The Teamsters' struggle is all the more significant in that the ranks have not only registered dissatisfaction over the failure of their officers to give leadership against the bosses, through a broad and stra-

tegic strike action, but they have been successful in mobilizing sufficient force to formally repudiate their leadership. And now they are locked in a struggle to replace it.

Local 938 has had a turbulent, paralyzing history, but it is starting to roll again. The ranks are preparing to put it in fighting trim so that it can take on the trucking companies and force the scrapping of the present 48 hour work-week for 40 hours with no loss in net pay. Earlier this year the Pearson government legislated the 40 hour week with one hand as an election ploy, but with the other it granted exemptions to the powerful transport interests all down the line. One of the lowest paid sectors of the unionized work-force, the Teamsters are also seeking a substantial wage increase.

The breakthrough against the autocratic, hooligan machine that President Ken McDougall had succeeded in imposing over the Toronto-based local came when a joint bargaining committee attempted to put over an agreement that it had arrived at with the Motor Transport Bureau. The membership rose up in one mighty roar of indignation to repudiate McDougall's recommendation that it accept the company's offer to reduce the work week over a 3¼ year period to 43 hours, and a 53 cent increase spread over the same period.

## SELL-OUT BLOCKED

Within 24 hours of McDougall's

adjournment of the meeting there were widespread, spontaneous strikes across southern Ontario. Following a return to work after a couple of days of strikes that tied up Hamilton, Oshawa, and several key Toronto barns, which effectively blocked any designs that the McDougall gang may have had to carry out their sweet-heart deal, the trucking bosses commenced a campaign of reprisals.

The employers are seeking the authority of the Labor Relations Board to collect 2 million dollars in damages from Hamilton Local 879 and to prosecute another 200 union members. Ten teamsters, which includes eight leading militants from Inter-City Transport, have been fired.

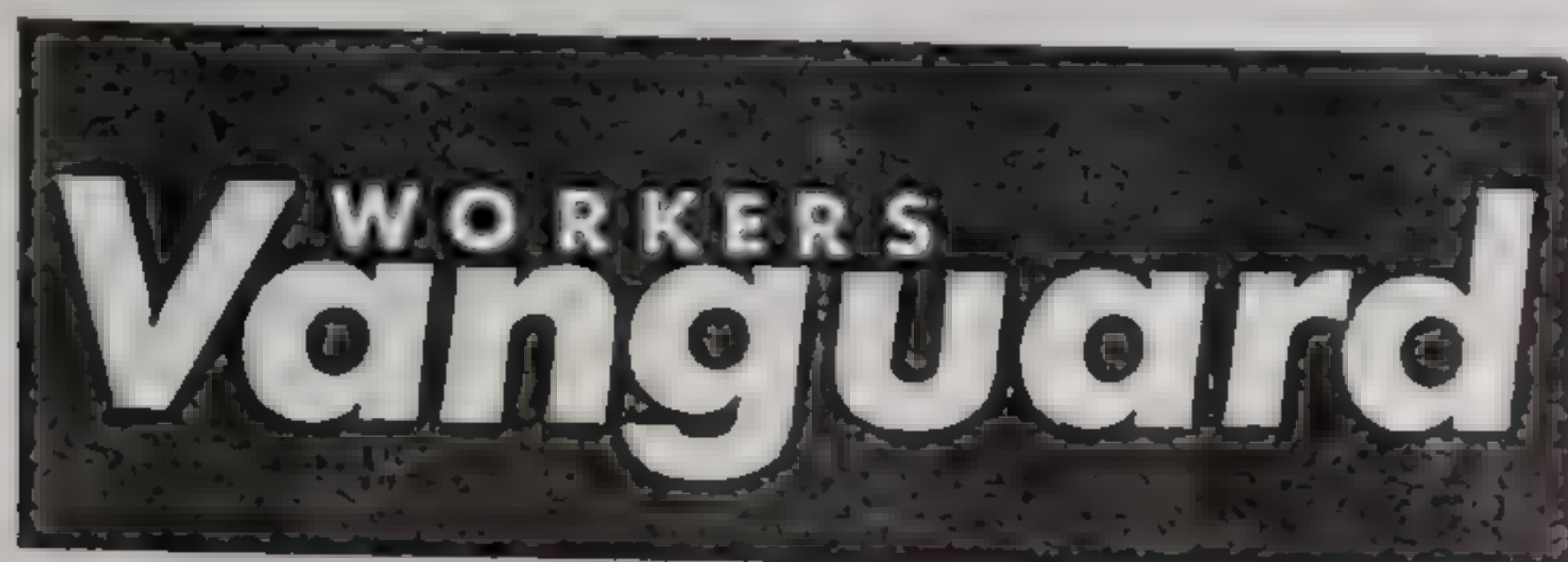
The McDougall machine has long been flashing the green light to the bosses to persecute and fire militants. He has utilized such firings to clear the opposition to his policies out of the local. Last election saw the majority of the opposition slate headed up by Fred Aldred fired from their jobs, and thus out of the local, by the time the votes were counted. Now Aldred is one of the eight fired by Inter-City.

## OPPOSITION ORGANIZES

Thanks to the militancy displayed by the rank and file, an organized opposition commenced to form. It has coalesced around a "No Reprisals Defence Fund" that has sold supporters buttons and organized dances to sustain the fight, and keep them in the struggle developing in the local, and around business agent Charles Thibault and secretary-treasurer Lloyd Merritt.

Sensing the possibilities of once-and-for-all breaking out of the stranglehold that McDougall and his gang have imposed on the local, the rank and file jammed the next meeting to renounce McDougall's proposal that the case of those fired be dropped. To demonstrate their determination to see that all reprisals be withdrawn, and to assure that there be no further moves in the direction of a back-door deal with the bosses, the meeting overwhelmingly decided to add three men from the floor to the negotiating committee. And for good measure they passed a specific motion of non-confidence in McDougall, and deprived him of any

(See Page 4 — TEAMSTERS)



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## TEAMSTER STRUGGLE

(Continued from Page 1)

power to fire business agents. The three added to the committee were Aldred, Merritt and Thibault.

The companies turned a deaf ear to the newly-constituted negotiating committee's appeal to drop all reprisals so there could be serious negotiations for a new contract. In response, the three appointees of Local 938, joined by the representatives of the Hamilton local, led by President Ray Taggart, walked out of the conciliation proceedings.

Following the executive majority's refusal to accede to their request that a mass meeting be called to hear a report on the conciliation walk-out, and on preparations to mobilize for strike to win the union's demands, Thibault and Merritt, in response to a petition, called a meeting which was attended by about 250. McDougall called a counter-meeting of strength in Sudbury—attended by 40 members. McDougall is now talking in terms of seeking to have Hoffa impose trusteeship over the local. During a turbulent period in 1959 trusteeship saved McDougall, and he may hope to save himself this way again.

McDougall is a maverick operator with lots of tricks up his sleeve. He is now, once again, reverting to talking an aggressive line — and it is not at all excluded, as a showdown approaches, faced with the prospect of militants rising into the leadership of Local 938, that the bosses will attempt to save him by making a substantial offer.

The union ranks have responded to the dynamic alternatives that McDougall's opposition has presented to them, and pushed even further. What is lacking is an organized rank and file caucus with firm connections across the barns. The Teamsters' Information Bulletin that is now appearing can become an important instrument to co-ordinate and strengthen the influence of the opposition. The latest issue reporting on the petitioned meeting plays up a recommendation that the membership commence to work to the rules — refuse overloads and dodge overtime. Such a campaign, it says, will help convince the companies of the seriousness of our demands.

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## **The NDP in this Election & What's Next to be Done**

BY THE EDITORS

The Canadian electorate, in defiance of all of the pollsters, clearly declared on November 8 that they want neither the Liberals nor the Progressive Conservatives in government. Despite Liberal leader Pearson's power drive for a majority government, by casting only 39% of their votes Liberal and only 33% of their votes Tory, they declared their non-confidence in both parties of Big Business.

Neither party now can be said to be a truly federal party — with the Tories shut out of Quebec, the Liberals shut out of Saskatchewan and Alberta — and both outpolled by the NDP in British Columbia.

But there is small comfort in the results for the thousands of working men and women who carried the campaign for the NDP. In the face of the continuing crisis of the capitalist parties, including Social Credit which disappeared from the federal picture and plummeted downwards in its Alberta stronghold and in Quebec as the *Raillement des Creditistes*, the NDP vote of 1,360,000 represented only a rise from 13% of the vote to 18%.

In order to brighten up the picture, and to discourage any serious evaluation of the situation, the party's press service has resorted to claiming that until this election the party was in reality "a splinter group," a term with which its opponents have attempted to belittle it. CPA heads up its report of party leader Eamon Park's comments to the Ontario Federation of Labor convention with the sentence, "The Federal election marked the emergence of the NDP from a splinter group to a major political force." They report OFL vice-president Harold Thayer as saying "he could see a breakthrough for the party in the next election, whenever it comes."

The only real progress that can be pointed to is the considerable rise of NDP support in Quebec (see separate article) and the further consolidation of the NDP vote in urban areas across the country, for instance, in Metropolitan Toronto where it won four out of 18 seats and polled 29.5% of the vote to top that polled by the Tory machine in its former stronghold.

Ex-Tory Justice Minister Fulton has attempted to dismiss even this increase as a temporary surge. "The particular political situation that happened to exist in Canada for this election," he said, "was one that favored an NDP improvement."

But the NDP, launched with the support of the Canadian Labor Congress, was not a "splinter group" even as it drew first breath.  
(See Page 3 — THE NDP)

## **The NDP In This Election**

(Continued from Page 1)

Nor are the gains registered this election the result of a temporary surge. The NDP ran second in 11 Ontario seats and, though it won no seats in Saskatchewan, finished second in nine of the 18 seats there.

The question is — why didn't the party do better? As party leader Douglas noted, disillusionment with the capitalist parties was so widespread that 36% remained uncommitted well into the campaign. Why, failing to form the government, which Douglas correctly declared as the party's aim and a possibility, why didn't the NDP rally enough support to form the official opposition?

The truth is that the NDP, with the reformist policies adopted since its formation, had little to offer that differentiated it in any way from the Liberal and Tory parties, both of which project a reformist image. And this election it said even less than what it has been formally committed to by convention and official spokesmen.

### **FAILS TO MEET VIETNAM ISSUE**

Last May 28th party leader T. C. Douglas made a major policy statement in the house of commons on the war in Vietnam. The chief merit of this speech was his clear condemnation of U.S. aggression there as threatening to "escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth," and his characterization of the war as an attempt to crush a legitimate effort of the people in Vietnam to rule themselves unhampered by the economic domina-

tion of great powers. He censored the Liberal government, supported by the Tories, for its "supine subservience" to the Johnson administration.

Yet this federal election, when Canada's role, in a situation of extreme peril for all humanity, as he himself noted, is certainly up for debate, neither Douglas nor any other leading party spokesman so much as mentioned Vietnam, until prodded by audiences at public meetings.

Opponents of the U.S.'s dirty war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in it — right across the country, by various means — dragged the question of Vietnam into the open — until finally both Mr. Pearson and Mr. Diefenbaker affirmed their position in major policy statements.

Mr. Diefenbaker conceded that "the popular thing" would be to urge the U.S. to pull out of Vietnam (last poll 33% opposed the war in Vietnam and many others were undecided). Mr. Pearson said that to advocate U.S. withdrawal would arouse fear of a great power, which the majority of Canadians are certainly fearful of. But even with this opportunity, this challenge, the entire NDP leadership failed to make any pronouncements on Vietnam.

Faced with appeals from the floor at the final grand rally of the NDP campaign held in Toronto, Douglas even dared to defend his failure to speak out on Vietnam. Although Canada is directly involved in support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, he replied that we would have to get our own house in order before intervening elsewhere — and that domestic issues are of prime concern in this election.

The net result of this policy was that the Liberals and Tories propagated their lies in support of U.S. aggression with impunity — and the NDP paid for it. Those who support U.S. intervention and those who are doubtful, not hearing the opposition viewpoint, probably voted against the NDP as they knew it was in some way against the war there. And those who are opposed to the war were alienated from the NDP for its failure to take up the issue.

### **POSES NO REAL ALTERNATIVE**

Instead of presenting the NDP as a real alternative to the capitalist parties the official campaign sought identification with them. The policy of burying the party's identity resulted in one Toronto campaign leaving the party label off all its display posters. In another Metro Toronto area campaign the NDP candidate not only dissociated herself from socialism but identified herself as a small *liberal*.

Even when he hesitantly referred to the dictatorial concentration of power in the hands of the economic elite, Douglas shied away from exposing the political ramifications of this power. The party did not project any program designed to lead a struggle against Big Business; its monopolistic practices, its anti-union drive, let alone one that would open up new channels for popular control of the country.

The election speeches and leaflets were studded with the word planning, attempting to differentiate projected NDP planning from the Liberal brand by placing the word "real" in front of it. Any mention of public ownership, which would alone permit planning in the interests of the working people, was studiously evaded. The arguments to justify this are strictly opportunist — that the people are not ready for this type of socialist policy, that it will cost votes, with subtle hints borrowed from the witchhunters' arsenal that public ownership tends towards totalitarianism.

But ironically the NDP has been scurrying away from the concept of government ownership just as the Canadian people have been moving more rapidly towards it, and at a considerable higher percentage than that the NDP polled this election.

Only 10 days after the elections a study was released that shows that the number of persons favoring government ownership has risen in the past year to the highest level since 1947 — from 22.8 in 1964 to 24.5 in 1965. Undertaken by Elliott Research Corporation for a group of companies, and based on questions asked of 5,000 persons — double the size of a normal national poll — the study concludes that "a socialist trend has grown significantly in the past year." Unfortunately the NDP with its present policies just isn't there to receive it.

This NDP election campaign, with almost twice the funds at its disposal, in the midst of a continued crisis of the capitalist parties, not only demonstrates the falsity of the party's program but the inadequacy of its leadership. Fortunately we have every reason to be confident that in the union political action bodies, in the constituency associations, and in the youth, there are the resources that in the process of a struggle can be organized to direct the party onto the socialist path.



WV#114 December 1965

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## BOOKSHELF

**THE VERTICAL MOSAIC**, by JOHN PORTER. University of Toronto Press. Obtainable through the Vanguard Bookstore, 824 Yonge Street, Toronto, and 1208 Granville, Vancouver; \$15.00.

John Porter's heavily-documented book *Vertical Mosaic* is not only a damning indictment of present day Canadian capitalist society but demolishes many of the most cherished notions about this society.

The author denies the actual existence of a ruling class, preferring to break up this society into "elites" more or less equal (economic, labor, political, etc.) But it is apparent that the so-called economic "elite" with its concentrated wealth, combined with undue influence over other "elites," does indeed constitute a ruling class — a capitalist class.

Many people are convinced that middle-class affluence is prevalent in our society. Such is not the case. If by Porter's own definition the middle class includes those who earn between \$8,000 and \$50,000 per annum, only a little over one-tenth of Canadian families, according to the latest available statistics, fall within this category. Contrasted to this over two-fifths of families in Canada receive less than \$4,000, which is only one thousand dollars above the accepted poverty level.

These facts hardly testify to "middle-class" prevalence!

Porter makes short shrift of the "equality of opportunity" myth. Utilizing statistics which unveil the background from which university students come, he reveals the appalling underrepresentation of these from the lower income groups and the reverse conditions for those in the higher income groups. Through painstaking research — records concerning the corporate rich — are not easy to

reach — he illustrates how the economic elite, numbering only 760 Canadian residents, live in a more or less closed circuit. The vast majority in this century either inherited their wealth or came from upper class families intimately associated with the top circles. Horatio Algiers are a dying species in this age of corporate opulence!

A notion that Jews are influential in corporate circles is exposed as nonsense. Until recently, when two Jews were placed amongst the directors of chartered banks, no Jews held directorships in the big financial and corporate institutions.

The number of French Canadians among the corporate rich is also tiny. Only 51 of the 760 in this class are of such origin, although French Canadians constitute about one-third of the population.

Most of the top crust is very much Anglo-Saxon as well as Protestant.

A belief that Canadians would benefit by a removal of foreign ownership is refuted as he cites the international nature of capitalism.

Porter devotes two chapters to

describing the labor movement in Canada. They make informative reading as he recounts its structure, history and problems, as well as the relationship between the labor "elite" and political groups, in particular the NDP.

How does Porter treat Marxist sociology? Surprisingly, quite superficially. In a few pages he dismisses it mainly as a 19th century relic, irrelevant to present problems in Canada. He fails to grasp that Marxism is a science based on dialectical materialism and that Marx proved that human societies were subject to its laws, developing accordingly. True, Marx did "err" on particular points; but the science of Marxism itself is as applicable today as in the 19th century. Marx is to sociology as Newton is to physics.

Certainly it is ironic to read his comments on the waning class struggle when strikes both union-inspired and otherwise are sweeping the country.

Other weaknesses in the book stem from a tendency to be repetitious and somewhat tedious in part. Also it lacks the fire that typified similar works by C. Wright Mills, and of course Karl Marx in his time.

But by and large, the book is recommended reading for workers and students with its information on all aspects of Canadian society. To NDPers it underscores the need for fundamental transformation of the system, and renders picayune and ineffectual the reformism advocated by the present leadership.

K. P.

(P. Kent?)



## Deep, Wide Poverty in Affluent Society— Canadian Way of Life

By Ross Dowson

Almost 4 million Canadians live in poverty, according to what the government itself has set as the criteria of poverty. A family of four with an income of less than \$3,000 a year, one in five of us live under these circumstances, or worse, can be considered to be impoverished. It was with these words that Tom Kent, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's \$25,000 a year advisor, opened the four day federal-pro-

vincial conference, held behind closed doors in Ottawa early this month.

Four days of sessions later, during which they were confronted with at least 44 printed briefs, the 175 delegates from all the provinces and the federal government, heard Mr. Kent say that although the poor may not be as materially impoverished as in the past, they may well be actually worse off—in relation to the affluence around them.

But with the close of the conference, which opened the government's long awaited War on Poverty, the enemy remained unnamed, the hardware with which to fight unspecified, and neither the tactics nor the strategy delineated.

There were lots of words presented, and many more chewed over. And from out of these words—even those released to the public—the problem is clear, the nature and scope of the crash program needed to alleviate it obvious, and the fundamental solution implicit.

There is dire poverty right across the country. And it is not at all confined to the Negro Ghetto of Africville, on the edge of Halifax, or to the Indian population whose male life expectancy is 33.3 years in contrast to the Canadian average of 60.5.

It is not only a race problem, although, as the Nova Scotia NAACP brief said, race prejudice and discrimination are factors in the extreme degradation of the Negroes in the Halifax area.

It is not only a national question, although Quebec is worse off all down the line than the rest of Canada. Nor is it a problem of the handicapped, the chronically ill, the aged, or a declassed, degraded element in society. It is not at all limited to the slums of Winnipeg or Montreal. It lurks behind the glass and concrete facades of the affluent society. It is a class question.

Poverty threatens the entire working population—hundreds of thousands are now entrapped by it and hundreds of thousands more are teetering on its brink.

(See Page 4 — POVERTY)

## Poverty Amidst Plenty, the Canadian Way of Life

(Continued from Page 1)

The Canadian Welfare brief expressed surprise that professional persons formed 10% of the Vancouver poverty sample.

According to a research project undertaken by Dalhousie University, of Nova Scotia's 146,825 families—37% are poor. The average personal income in Newfoundland in 1964 was \$1,000—\$200 of this sum came in the form of government social assistance.

One of the results of this widespread poverty is illiteracy—the profile prepared by DBS states that 1,024,785 Canadians are functionally illiterate—they have four grades or less, including no schooling. 46.8% or 5,166,346 Canadians 15 years of age or over, not attending school, have no schooling or only elementary education.

The Manitoba delegation differentiated between what it called hard core or unavoidable poverty cases across Canada, and those it classified as avoidably poor. The hard core it defined as "those who suffer serious social, physical or mental disabilities, or are old . . . enlightened welfare and social policies can aid their situation though in many cases they cannot correct it."

Only 25% of Canadians who live in poverty can be defined in their opinion as hard core. The poverty of the other 75% is "avoidable." "Given sound strategy and the mobilization of sufficient resources, a successful attack could be mounted in the comparatively short run."

The five volume report of the Canadian Council presents a shocking picture of poverty in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and St. John, N.B.—due to inadequate income, unemployment, chronic and serious ill-health that drains financial resources, bad and unfit housing. So poor are the younger elements, whether employed or dependent on welfare that even the miserable \$75 monthly pension that hundreds of thousands of the old age eke out a living on, makes them far better off. The median per person incomes for families studied in St. John and Montreal were \$34 a month—\$44 for Toronto and \$53 Vancouver.

Yet despite this grim picture the report noted what it termed a surprising degree of optimism among the poor. They have not become as officials often characterize the poor—demoralized parasites—"These people seem

willing and even eager to do their part if only they had the material means to do it."

The study that the Canadian Welfare Council made of rural poverty for the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration showed that in some cases rural poor subsist on incomes as low as \$11.71 per person per month. Yet the research director of the Council said that "If there is one conclusion to be drawn from the present study it is that the poor are not degraded and that there is a great deal that can be done to restore to them a just share in the life of the country."

The information on poverty across the country that has leaked out of the Ottawa conference is in itself not new. It has an accumulative impact, heightening our awareness of its scope and its extremity.

It also provides some insight into the nature of present day Canadian society. It is apparent, even from the above limited material, that poverty in Canada is not some kind of deviation from a norm. Poverty was widespread during "The Depression". But an increasing number of economists, including the Galbraithian school, accept depression as part of the whole of capitalism. Now we have poverty—widespread poverty—

in the period of boom, in the affluent capitalist society.

This poverty is not a condition confined to an ill-fated, unlucky, minority—born into it, and unable to escape from it—or thrust into it due to some chance circumstance. It is so broad, so general, and so many are tottering on its edge, that it is obviously an inherent, and inborn character of present day society, capitalist society.

Professor John Porter's book *Vertical Mosaic* presents a graphic picture of Canada's powerful and wealthy—the several hundreds who control the key sectors of society—the corporate rich. Their power and their wealth is no more an aberration than the impotence and want of the one in four families suffering poverty. Together they constitute the

→ to page 2



Page 2

## Searching For Food Scraps At The Montreal Market



whole. Both are inherent, endemic to capitalist society.

What is new is that this data comes from official government agencies which have presumably long ago made it available to the government—to the Liberal government in particular which has only just returned from facing the electorate with a program supposedly dealing with the most pressing problems confronting the country.

The 175 delegates and the briefs that they presented studi-

ously evaded projecting answers. They attempted to remain on the plane of description. But the answers were so obvious that they forced their way through.

More public housing, with heavier subsidies from the government, increased health facilities, and a national health plan, increased old age pensions, higher and enforced minimum wages, etc.

Mr. Pearson, as leader of the government, has given his answer to such demands. It was all summed up in his response to the demand of his opposition that the old age pension be raised \$25 a month. The economy can afford the over one billion dollars a year wasted on military equipment, to subsidize the gold mining interests, to allow Big Business to continue to operate without a tax on capital gains, but, according to Mr. Pearson, it cannot afford an increase in the old age pension.

While the results of such decisions as to what can and cannot be done are criminal, the decisions themselves do not reflect so much an insensitivity, as a social outlook—the capitalist mentality. Capital seeks to continue its unfettered operation for profit. Poverty, an inevitable by-product of capitalist exploitation, whether hard core, or avoidable, as the social workers characterize it, is of no concern to capital.

Capital is prepared to concede state intervention in so far as it makes the system operate more efficiently for profit. Its liberal reformist defenders even have a role to play—to ameliorate the system's worst excesses and spread the responsibility onto the rest of the work force. This is the nature of the hospital plans that the Liberals and Tories and Social Credit have implemented in various provinces—they serve to remove the burden of indigents, of paupers, from the hospitals controlled by the medical hierarchy. They rationalize operations which heretofore were left to charitable institutions which have been proliferating in the face of the increased

number of paupers and the widening number of families so delicately balanced on the edge of poverty that with help from time to time can continue to function.

The mobilization of powerful forces to fight for and win increased old age pensions with guarantees of automatic increases to meet the rising cost of living, to expand the number of low-priced subsidized housing units across the country, for a genuine hospital plan, is becoming ever more pressing.

But the problem is more profound than that. Despite all the advanced social legislation, the increased social services, an ever increasing number of persons live in poverty, and in relation to the affluence around them are actually worse off. Poverty being endemic to capitalism, to be eliminated requires the elimination of capitalism and the winning of a socialist society. The chief merit of the struggles for reforms is not so much the alleviation of the conditions of the poor, and thus preventing their demoralization, but the mobilization of the broadest layers of the working people in a struggle that has to be directed towards the abolition of capitalism.

### Mr. Pearson's New Cabinet Getting Down to Business

Robert Winters, the new trade and commerce minister, is working hard to prepare himself to handle the business of the people in the coming year. First he has to get rid of his own business, and then cut himself off from the innumerable posts he holds in the administration of Big Business.

Within hours of his appointment he had shucked off his presidency of Rio Algom Mines and his board chairmanship of British Newfoundland Corporation. Now he is ridding himself of such varied posts as vice-president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, chairman of Atlas Steel, president of Rio Tinto Mining and a string of directorates that encompass nearly all the major corporations that dominate the Canadian economy—from Algoma Steel, Dominion Sugar, Canada Cement, through to Ford Motor, Bell Telephone, and IBM.

He is going to find it hard to escape conflict of interests. Within hours of his resignation, as its president, he attended a party held by Rio Algom. He told other guests that Canada should reconsider its policy of only selling uranium to countries needing more than they themselves can produce, if they will guarantee that the Canadian materials will be used only for peaceful purposes. France has refused to buy under these circumstances, he noted, and reminded his audience that while Rio Algom has lots of uranium "we're not selling much."

He told the press earlier that there is an urgent need to make Canadian goods "more competitive on the world market—which can only be done through cutting labor costs which are much too high in Canada at the moment."

He sees no trouble working with fellow cabinet minister Jean Chartrand, former head of the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and now, as representative of the "new wave", minister of manpower.

Asked how he felt working side by side with a man who would ordinarily sit across the bargaining table from him, Mr. Winters said: "Well, a hockey player gets traded from the Maple Leafs to the Montreal Canadiens, but that doesn't mean he won't work as hard."

Mr. Winters didn't say whether it was he or Mr. Marchand who had traded sides.



# Wilson Backs Imperialism, Fails Rhodesian Blacks

By P. Kent

The Pearson government has pitted right in behind Harold Wilson in imposing sanctions against the white supremacist government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. Ottawa has extended its embargo against the importing of goods from Rhodesia on items that constitute 90% of all such goods imported last year. It is also supplying four RCAF transports with air and ground crews for the air lift into Zambia. Washington, too, is backing up Wilson to the hilt.

This is not at all surprising, although Harold Wilson heads a Labor government. Wilson's policy on Rhodesia is not at all in support of the 4 million blacks who saw the last vestige of political freedom wiped away when the Ian Smith regime unilaterally declared independence from Britain. It is not in support of the Rhodesian nationalist parties which were banned by Smith in 1964, their leaders confined to prison camps. Nor is it in support of the black workers in the towns, who have risen up in demonstrations against Smith and his martial law; many rounded up and imprisoned.

Wilson's policies are designed to protect the economic and political interests of British imperialism and imperialism generally, including U.S. and Canadian, on the fabulously wealthy African continent.

Wilson made this clear to those delegates at the UN who remained to hear him following the walk-out of three-quarters of the African delegates. He resorted to the classic racist arguments in his statement that Black Africa must not expect any immediate advance to majority-African-rule when constitutional rule is restored. "At this moment," he said, "there is no African nationalist movement in Rhodesia capable of the responsibility of self-government."

This statement is designed to give assurance to Smith's opposition, his white opposition, around such elements as the former Premier Garfield Todd, who see Smith's policies as threatening to unleash Black revolutionary forces that would overrun white imperialist rule in Rhodesia and possibly right through the continent. Wilson seeks to assure these whites of his opposition to Black majority rule and direct them along another road than the perilous one Smith is taking

—one in harmony with what Tory leader Harold Macmillan described as "the winds of change" sweeping through Africa. This is one which, through concessions to the African masses, finds a Black leadership that is prepared, in return for modest concessions, to collaborate in the preservation and development of imperialist interests.

That is why Wilson, who as the Queen's first minister has the authority to intercede with whatever force necessary to depose the Smith gang, at first did nothing, and then resorted to sanctions. The sanctions can not smash the economy of Rhodesia which is bordered by Verwoerd's South Africa, and fascist Portugal's colonial empire. At best they can create difficulties for the Smith regime and strengthen the hands of his white opposition. They also act as a token gesture designed to head off pressures for more drastic actions.

Should the forces of the Black revolution fail to respond at this juncture, should the anti-Smith whites fail to act, fail to find "moderates" such as Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, the policy of sanctions can be allowed to taper off and the Smith regime gradually recognized.

Among the African peoples there is a powerful feeling of sympathy for their Rhodesian brothers and a demand for solidarity action. This is directed primarily

at the heads of states in the Organization of African Unity.

This is what lay behind the 13 points that the foreign ministers of the Organization of African Unity addressed to Britain from Addis Ababa which carried the threat that if Britain had not "crushed the rebellion and restored law and order in Rhodesia thereby preparing the way for majority government" by December 15th, they would break off relations.

Zambia's president Kaunda was pressing Wilson to send troops into Zambia to take up positions on the Rhodesian side of the Kariba dam where the generators had been strategically situated. Britain has responded by sending a token force into Zambia. While Kaunda pressed for intervention by the big powers, others urged action by the African states themselves. Ghana's national planning minister Kojo Botsio said that 4,000 Ghanians had already volunteered for the militia. Other members of Ghana's delegation said that Britain's decision to send a token force into Zambia was designed to forestall OAU action.

President Nyerere of Tanzania, in his explanation of his government's decision to implement the agreement to break off relations with Britain, exposed Britain's offer of troops to Zambia as having "conditions which would have meant in effect that Rhodesia was protected from Africa, not Zambia, from rebellious British colonial forces in Rhodesia."

When the deadline for British action expired nine states implemented the agreement to break off relations with Britain. Notable among them is the United Arab Republic, Ghana, and Tanzania. Some 35% of Ghana's trade is with Britain, while Tanzania is receiving \$32 million over two years from Britain.

What the heads of these African states will now do, whether they will take actions on their own against the consolidation of the Smith regime in Rhodesia, which brings the racist wedge thrusting up from the Cape right into central Africa, is not clear. For the big question is—when will the African masses themselves rise up to rid themselves of the whole imperialist system of white domination?